50 CENTS
PDC

SEPTEMBER 29, 1972

James Burnham asks:
TNAMIZATION: WHAT NOW?
see page 1058

NATIONAL REVIEW

WHAT STRIKES DO TO THE INNOCENT BYSTANDER

THE PUBLIC BE DAMNED

BEHIND THE OLYMPIC SHOOT-OUT

Miles Copel

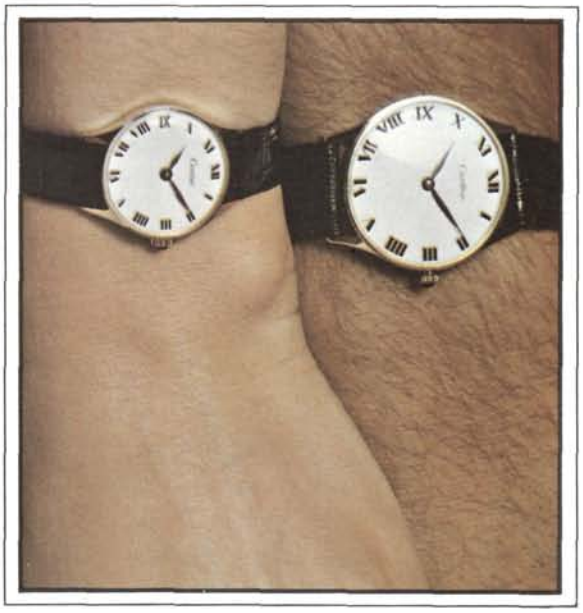
ROY E SMITH
P O DRAWER N
LIMA OH 45802

5458025IT1RP00000 IS-0 01 115

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now the great stores come to you. Save your time for better trips than shopping trips. Now The Kenton Collection brings the great stores to you — through the convenience of shopping by mail — Cartier, Mark Cross, Georg Jensen, Valentino. Not only the great stores, but their identical prices. While The Kenton Collection represents the choicest of the choice, each purchase you make must meet the standards of your personal inspection, or you may return it for an unquestioned refund.

The Kenton Collection



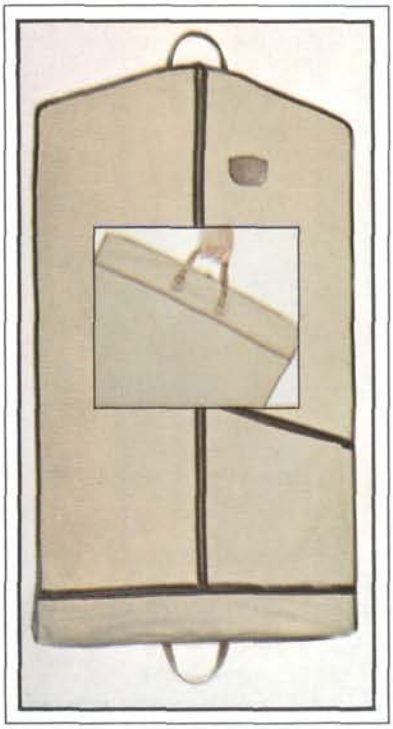
AMERICAN EAGLE PAPERWEIGHT: First in an exclusive series of five Endangered American Animals by Val St. Lambert. Copper wheel engraved in fine lead crystal, each piece is approximately 4″ x 3″ x 2″, signed and numbered. A limited edition of 1000 exclusively from Cartier,
#08201 50.00 (1.10). As a beginning of a matched set of five paperweights with identical issue numbers.
#08482 60.00 (1.10).

HIS AND HER CARTIER WATCHES: Each with 17 jewel Swiss movement, framed and buckled in vermeil, stemmed with a tiny cabochon sapphire and banded in black lizard.
His #09159 160.00 (1.15).
Hers #08318 160.00 (1.15).

ROLL OUT THE BARREL: Our 27″ tall solid oak cooler holds 42 quarts of ice. Wheels *up to the party in style, chills everything* from soft drinks to champagne. With personalized brass plate (specify name). From The Collection.
#09076 100.00 (8.50).

THE SCARF WORTH FRAMING: 36″ square of pure silk, over 8 months in the creation, hand screened 32 times in the Italian Alps . . . this Collection world exclusive could *understandably be framed under glass.* Unframed, as the work of art you wear.
#08789 65.00 (1.10).

NEW MARK CROSS HANG-UPS: Proof that Silas sympathizes with travelers. Tan cotton and rayon to fill, fold, carry easily on the plane by the two leather handles, then store like conventional hanging bags.
His #08714 30.00 (1.30).
Hers, longer
#08722 30.00 (1.30).



IF YOU DON'T SEE WHAT YOU WANT, ASK — for our 68-page Christmas catalog of gifts: — over 300 beautiful ways to say "Merry Christmas", from $5 to $1000. If coupon is missing, write: The Kenton Collection/Dept. 01065/711 West Broadway/ Tempe, Arizona 85282.

The Kenton Collection. To receive items promptly, fill out form below, detach a mail to: The Kenton Collection/711 West Broadway/Dept. 01065/Tempe, Arizona 85282. Be sure to include postage and handling charges as shown in the ( ).

Item #	Item	Quantity	Price	Total
08201	Eagle Paperweight	_____	50.00 (1.10)	_____
08482	Eagle Paperweight	_____	60.00 (1.10)	_____
09159	His Cartier Watch	_____	160.00 (1.15)	_____
08318	Her Cartier Watch	_____	160.00 (1.15)	_____
08714	His Clothes Carrier	_____	30.00 (1.30)	_____
08722	Her Clothes Carrier	_____	30.00 (1.30)	_____
08789	Pearle Scarf	_____	65.00 (1.10)	_____
09076	*Barrel Cooler	_____	100.00 (8.50)	_____
	If to be delivered in Arizona, please add 4% Sales Tax			_____
	*Specify name_____		The Total Order	_____

☐ Circle active account to be charged. Master Charge • American Express • BankAmericard. Account # (All Digits) ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐
Expiration Date _____
☐ Enclosed, please find check or money order for the total, payable to The Kenton Collection. NR
☐ Please send me gratis The Kenton Collection of Christmas Gifts for 1972.
Your telephone (_____)_____
Name_____
Address_____
City_____
State_____ Zip_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

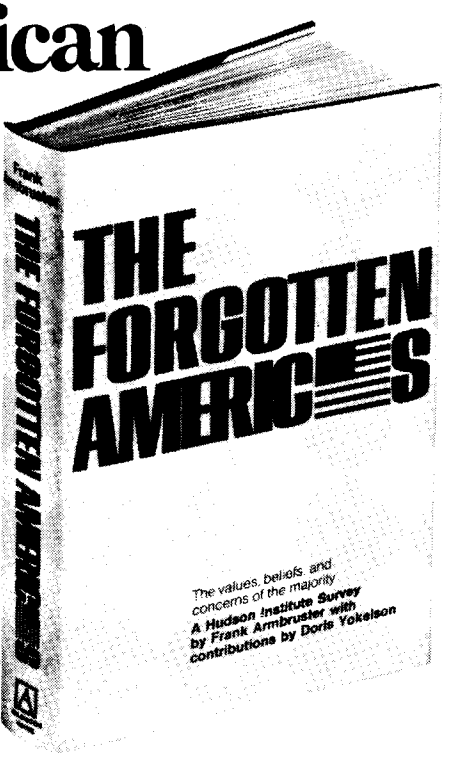
Which of these statements about the American people are true?

- ★ There is a new sexual morality. Americans are becoming more permissive.
- ★ Drunkenness is primarily "the curse of the lower classes."
- ★ Fewer people believe in God today than 25 years ago.
- ★ Most young people feel our courts are too harsh on criminals.
- ★ Negroes favor busing.
- ★ One reason we have a VD problem is that Americans keep the subject "swept under the rug."
- ★ College-educated people are not as likely to attend church as those with less education.
- ★ Negroes prefer to live in the North.
- ★ Sex education in the schools is gaining acceptance.
- ★ Liberalized attitudes and forms of worship are helping to bring people back to church.
- ★ Americans have always thought that their children were "going to the dogs."
- ★ The percentage of people favoring the death penalty is dwindling.
- ★ Independents usually vote Democratic.
- ★ Among Democrats, liberals outnumber conservatives.
- ★ Most big-city residents are liberals.
- ★ Those with more education and affluence tend to be more dovish.
- ★ Agnew's attacks on college demonstrators were responsible for the heavy American opposition to them.
- ★ The smarter the student, the more likely he is to be a left-winger.
- ★ Our largest minority prefers to be called "blacks" rather than "Negroes," definitely prefers "black" over "colored."
- ★ Middle Americans are not much concerned with the welfare of others.
- ★ Americans were happier after World War II than they are today.
- ★ Young people are unhappy with their lives, pessimistic about the future.
- ★ Negro high school boys have lower self-esteem than their white classmates.
- ★ College students don't attend church as often as adults do.
- ★ Black adults do not agree with whites that schools are not strict enough.
- ★ Hallucinogens and barbiturates are used less in denominational colleges than in other colleges.
- ★ Young people are not as worried about drugs as are their parents.

Answers:

All of the above statements are wrong. For documentation on these and other startling facts about American attitudes, see this epochal new book

THE FORGOTTEN AMERICANS


THE FORGOTTEN AMERICANS
The values, beliefs, and concerns of the majority
A Hudson Institute Survey
by Frank Armbruster with
contributions by Doris Yokelson

A Survey of the Values, Beliefs, and Concerns of the Majority
Frank E. Armbruster, with contributions by Doris Yokelson
A Hudson Institute Research Project

The Forgotten Americans is a landmark book: the first to collect all the significant available data on what the American people really think on matters of morality, political philosophy and social values.

Up to now, comments about the attitudes of the American people have been based mostly on assumptions and guesswork, with the observer's own ideology often coloring the results. This book bases its conclusions on the hundreds of opinion polls and surveys of the public at large, and of young people and Negroes in particular, from the Thirties to November, 1971. As such, it is the first serious attempt to measure the national character and attitudes, and above all to see how—or whether—they are changing.

The result will startle many Americans. Armbruster finds that there is greater homogeneity in America than most of us had believed. This book reveals the consensus, and any serious future study of American politics or the American people will have to pay its respects to Mr. Armbruster's seminal researches. For politicians, people in communications, educators, the clergy and businessmen, it is indispensable.

For conservatives, it offers encouragement—and challenge.

Encouragement, because this book *proves*, for the first time, that there really is a Silent Majority . . . and that the Silent Majority holds fast to traditional values.

And therein lies the challenge. Can conservatives find ways to reach this Silent Majority? The old tactics have failed. But now a book shows where the real heart of America lies.

This is a mind-opening book. And it may just prove to be the most important book of the Seventies.

The Forgotten Americans is a much expanded version of a private study produced by the same authors for the Hudson Institute, Herman Kahn's prestigious "think tank." The text is supplemented by more than 200 Tables and 40 Figures.

Two ways to get this book

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB
81 Centre Avenue
New Rochelle, New York 10801

Please send ENTIRELY FREE a copy of the $9.95 book, *The Forgotten Americans* by Frank Armbruster, and accept my membership in the Conservative Book Club — the only book club expressly for political conservatives. Club Selections are always offered at discounts of 20% to 75% off store prices plus shipping. My only obligation as a member is to buy 3 books from among the 100 or more to be offered during the next 15 months, after which I may resign any time. Membership also entitles me to a free subscription to the Club's monthly Bulletin, which describes the Club's monthly Selection and brims with news and trends of interest to conservatives. If I want the monthly Selection I will do nothing; it will be shipped automatically and the Club will charge my account at the discount price. If I don't want the Selection or prefer an Alternate I merely take a moment to tell the Club on the handy form always provided.

Name NR-490

Address

City/State *Zip*

RISK-FREE EXAMINATION
To your bookseller or:

ARLINGTON HOUSE
81 Centre Avenue
New Rochelle, New York 10801

Please send, delivered free, *The Forgotten Americans* by Frank Armbruster. My payment of $9.95 is enclosed. If not pleased I may return the book within 30 days of delivery for full refund plus extra cash to cover my return postage.

NR-490

Name

Address

City/State *Zip*

N.Y. State residents please add sales tax.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Editor
WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Publisher
WILLIAM A. RUSHER

Associate Publisher
JAMES P. MCFADDEN

Editors
JAMES BURNHAM
JEFFREY HART

Managing Editor
PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

Acting Book Editor
ELSIE B. MEYER

Feature Editor
C. H. SIMONDS

Executive Secretary
FRANCES BRONSON

Contributing Editors
GUY DAVENPORT
W. H. VON DREELE
M. STANTON EVANS
NIKA HAZELTON
WILL HERBERG
JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK
D. KEITH MANO
FRANCIS RUSSELL
RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Associates
LINDA BRIDGES
KEVIN LYNCH
ALAN REYNOLDS
PATRICIA C. SIMONDS
JANE B. SMITH
TIMOTHY J. WHEELER

Assistant Editor
CAROL B. LEARSY

Research Director
AGATHA S. DOWD

Librarian
ROBIN WU

Art Director
JAMES W. O'BRYAN

Production Editor
BARBARA A. DEVLIN

Promotion Manager
EDWARD A. CAPANO

Circulation Manager
KEVIN P. O'ROURKE

Advertising Director
ROBERT F. SENNOTT JR.

Assistant Publisher
PATRICK D. MAINES

NATIONAL REVIEW

VOL. XXIV No. 38 SEPTEMBER 29, 1972

IN THIS ISSUE . . .

. . . we put the Munich massacre into perspective. When the news broke, we juggled our articles section to make room and asked **Miles Copeland** for an assessment of who did it, and why, and what's coming next. Mr. Copeland, formerly a consultant to the State Department and now a specialist on security affairs for international corporations in Africa and the Middle East, responded with a rundown on the major Arab terrorist organizations—all of which are in disarray and only one of which, he notes, has Israel as its primary target. Mr. Copeland's educated guess: Look for more Munich-type operations—and look, too, for the concealed hand of Peking. As it happens, Mr. Copeland also has a book review in this issue, which see for more hard facts on the Arab world. . . . Strikes, everyone knows, are a problem; until we see the problem correctly, says **Alan Reynolds**, our economist in residence, the poor old public will go on paying through the nose. Lesson One: the target of much union action is not the employer, but the public. . . . **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn** demolishes the notion (still alive, oddly, after the recent unpleasantness in Czechoslovakia) that humane Marxism is possible. . . . **Russell Kirk**, ever on the watch for educational perversions, divines the true meaning of busing: It has little to do with integration, everything to do with leveling. . . . And **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** visits Attica Prison, and wonders what happened to the men who led the revolt there last September.

—CHS

1046 THE WEEK

ARTICLES

1057 WHAT STRIKES DO TO THE INNOCENT BYSTANDER *by Alan Reynolds*
1060 ARABS AND TERRORISTS *by Miles Copeland*
1062 WHAT THE BIG GIVERS ARE GIVING *by Ferris Cork*

DEPARTMENTS

1056 THE PROTRACTED CONFLICT *by James Burnham*
1064 FROM THE CONTINENT *by Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn*
1065 FROM THE ACADEMY *by Russell Kirk*
1082 ON THE RIGHT *by Wm. F. Buckley Jr.*
1040 FOR THE RECORD ☐ **1046** LETTERS ☐ **1084** TRANS-O-GRAM

1066 BOOKS

Miles Copeland on *Storm over the Arab World* ☐ Francis Russell on Solzhenitsyn's *August 1914* ☐ Brudnoy on *Fire in the Lake* ☐ Kirschke on *365 Days*

1073 ARTS & MANNERS

D. Keith Mano on Joe Papp ☐ Jean Jeffries watches *In the News* ☐ Eugene and John Meyer on Bobby Fischer and his impact

Contributors

Aram Bakshian Jr. ☐ C. D. Batchelor ☐ Ruth Berenson ☐ Colm Brogan
David Brudnoy ☐ John R. Coyne Jr. ☐ John Chamberlain ☐ Richmond Crinkley
Anthony R. Dolan ☐ Charles Foley ☐ Neal Freeman ☐ Max Geltman ☐ Henry Hazlitt
John Kiley ☐ Suzanne La Follette ☐ Sir Arnold Lunn ☐ Vincent Miller ☐ Gerhart Niemeyer
Daniel Oliver ☐ Stefan T. Possony ☐ William F. Rickenbacker ☐ Morrie Ryskind
William S. Schlamm ☐ Tibor Szamuely ☐ Alec Waugh ☐ Auberon Waugh ☐ Peter P. Witonski
Frederick D. Wilhelmsen

Foreign Contributors

Anthony Lejeune *London* ☐ E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich* ☐ Elspeth Huxley *African Affairs*
Taki Theodoracopulos *Athens* ☐ Donald Coxe *Guelph, Ontario* ☐ Elena Ossa *Santiago*

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 50 Emmett St., Bristol, Conn. Second-class postage paid at Bristol, Conn. © National Review, Inc. 1972.

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016

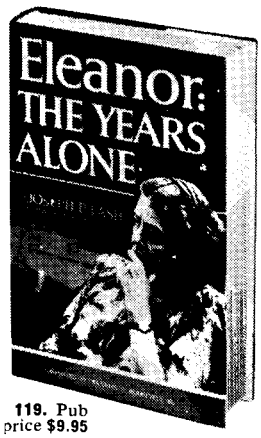
Address all subscription mail, orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Manager, NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

RATES: *$22.00 a year ($12.00 for the 44-page issues, and $10.00 for 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.*

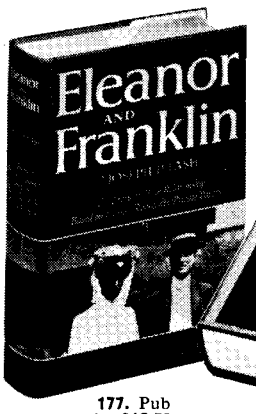
The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better a stamped, self-addressed envelope, is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the view of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

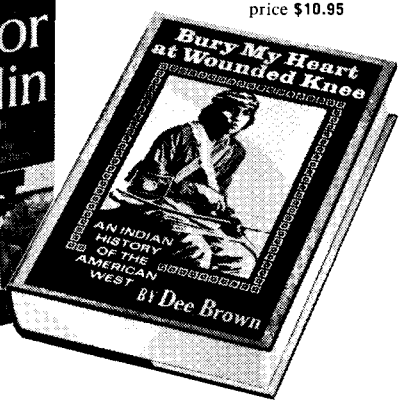
If you have a special interest in contemporary history...



119. Pub price **$9.95**

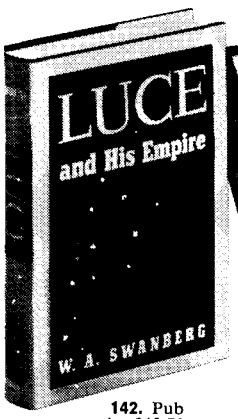


177. Pub price **$12.50**

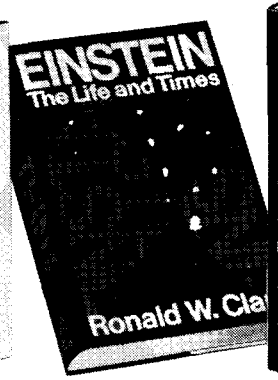


391. Pub price **$10.95**

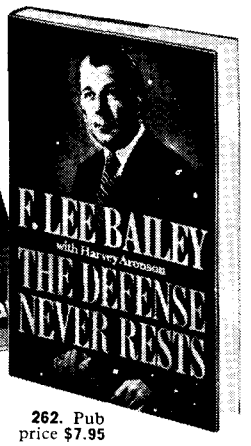
isn't this a good time to join the BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB® ?



142. Pub price **$12.50**



114. Pub price **$15**



262. Pub price **$7.95**

234. THE OXFORD HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE *by* SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. Illus. (Pub price **$15**)

421. A HAPPY DEATH *by* ALBERT CAMUS (Pub price **$5.95**)

244. THE NEW YORK TIMES COOK BOOK *Edited by* CRAIG CLAIBORNE. Illus. (Pub price **$9.95**)

212. THE SERVICE: The Memoirs of General Reinhard Gehlen *by* REINHARD GEHLEN (Pub price **$10**)

389. THE DOUBLE-CROSS SYSTEM *by* J. C. MASTERMAN (Pub price **$6.95**)

382. THE TERMINAL MAN *by* MICHAEL CRICHTON. (Pub price **$6.95**)

181. SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN Father of New France *by* SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. (Pub price **$10**)

140. THE COMPLETE MEDICAL GUIDE *by* BENJAMIN F. MILLER, M.D. 3rd rev. ed. Illus. (Pub price **$9.95**)

351. INSIDE THE THIRD REICH: Memoirs by Albert Speer Photos. (Pub price **$12.50**)

221. I'M OK — YOU'RE OK: A Practical Guide to Transactional Analysis *by* THOMAS A. HARRIS, M.D. (Pub price **$5.95**)

371. Pub price **$10**

438. ONLY ONE EARTH: The Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet *by* BARBARA WARD *and* RENE DUBOS (Pub price **$6**)

107. THE WAY THINGS WORK An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Technology. Vol. I (Pub price **$9.95**)

214. THE WAY THINGS WORK Volume II. Illus. (Pub price **$9.95**)

127. THE POETRY OF ROBERT FROST *Edited by* EDWARD CONNERY LATHAM (Pub price **$10.95**)

431. THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH *by* WILLIAM L. SHIRER. (Pub price **$15**)

379. OPEN MARRIAGE *by* NENA O'NEILL *and* GEORGE O'NEILL (Pub price **$6.95**)

571. THE POEMS OF MAO TSE-TUNG *by* MAO TSE-TUNG (Pub price **$4.95**)

245. WHAT DO YOU SAY AFTER YOU SAY HELLO? *by* ERIC BERNE, M.D. (Pub price **$10**)

156. STILWELL AND THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN CHINA 1911-1945 *by* BARBARA W. TUCHMAN. Photos (Pub price **$10**)

These three count as one book

174. IN SOMEONE'S SHADOW, LISTEN TO THE WARM, STANYAN STREET & OTHER SORROWS *by* ROD MCKUEN. (Pub prices total **$13.50**)

570. THE DAWN'S EARLY LIGHT *by* WALTER LORD. Photos (Pub price **$8.50**)

417. A PORTION FOR FOXES *by* JANE MCILVAINE MCCLARY. (Pub price **$8.95**)

260. THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS (Pub price **$12.50**)

239. ENEMIES A LOVE STORY *by* ISAAC BASHEVIS SINGER. (Pub price **$6.95**)

303. THE TRUTH ABOUT WEIGHT CONTROL *by* NEIL SOLOMON, M.D., PH.D., *with* SALLY SHEPPARD Charts. (Pub price **$6.95**)

364. Pub price **$4.95**

345. THE EUROPEAN DISCOVERY OF AMERICA: The Northern Voyages *by* SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. Illus. (Pub price **$15**)

305. ACUPUNCTURE *by* MARC DUKE Illustrated (Pub price **$6.95**)

115. THE FEMALE EUNUCH *by* GERMAINE GREER. (Pub price **$6.95**)

CHOOSE ANY 4 FOR ONLY $1

THE SUGGESTED TRIAL: You simply agree to buy four Club choices within a year at special members' prices

BOOKS THAT ANALYZE, interpret and discuss the major events and ideas of our time are among the hundreds offered each month by the Book-of-the-Month Club. The experimental membership suggested here will prove, by your own experience, how effectually the Club can **keep you from missing** these and other important books.

As long as you remain a member, you will receive the Book-of-the-Month Club *News*, a literary magazine published by the Club 15 or 16 times a year and sent to you approximately every 23 days. The *News* announces the coming Selection and describes scores of other important books, most of which are available at substantial discounts – up to **40%** on more expensive volumes. All of these books **are identical to the publishers' editions in format, size and quality.** If you wish to purchase the Selection, do nothing and it will be shipped to you automatically. However, there is no obligation to purchase any particular volume. If you do not wish the Selection (or any other book)—or if you want one of the Alternates offered in the *News*—you must indicate your decision on the convenient form provided and mail it so the Club receives it by the date specified on the form. The *News* announcing each Selection is mailed in time to allow members at least 10 days to return the form if they do not want the Selection. If you, because of late delivery of the *News*, should ever receive a Selection without having had the 10-day consideration period, that Selection may be returned at the Club expense.

If you continue after this experimental membership, you will earn, *for every Club Selection or Alternate you buy*, a Book-Dividend Credit. Each Credit, upon payment of a nominal sum, often only **$1.00 or $1.50** – somewhat more for unusually expensive volumes or sets – will entitle you to a Book-Dividend® which you may choose from over a hundred fine library volumes available over the year. This unique library-building system enables members to save **70% or more** of what they would otherwise have to pay.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, INC.
280 Park Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017 **2-A123-9-1**

Please enroll me as a member of the Book-of-the-Month Club and send me the four volumes whose numbers I have indicated in boxes below, billing me $1.00 for all four volumes. I agree to purchase at least four additional Selections or Alternates during the first year I am a member, paying special members' prices. My membership is cancelable any time after I buy these four books. A shipping charge is added to all shipments.

INDICATE BY NUMBER THE FOUR BOOKS YOU WANT

[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

MR. / MRS. / MISS } .....
(Please print plainly)

Address .....

City .....

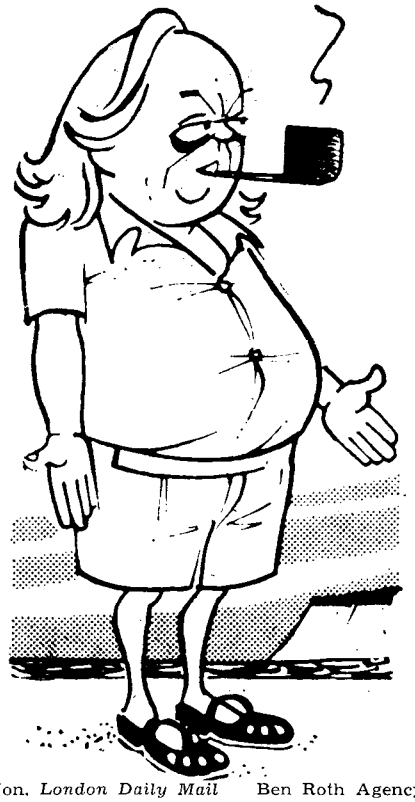
State ..... *Zip* .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

■ A month ago, the **Evans & Novak** political report indicated a **Nixon** win by landslide (if the election were held then) with McGovern getting only 38 electoral votes. The Sept. 6 update shows Nixon winning all fifty states, losing only the District of Columbia. (Washington, D.C., incidentally, went for **Humphrey** by 82 per cent in '68, has only thirty thousand registered Republicans.) . . . When **George McGovern** was informed of new **Gallup** that showed him sinking in popularity with both under-thirties and workingmen, he responded: Young voters and workers who favor the President are "too confused to know which end is up." Actual figures: Under-thirties favored Nixon over McGovern 61 per cent to 36 per cent, workers favored Nixon 64 per cent to 28 per cent. . . . Another blockbuster, this time from **Harris**: 81 per cent of the people now feel they're familiar with McGovern's programs, 55 per cent of them find them "too extreme." . . . **Lev Dobriansky** of the National Captive Nations Committee says Sen. McGovern has never shown any concern for the captive nations. "For all his years in Congress . . . he has never expressed any humanitarian sense of brotherhood toward the one billion souls in these Communist-dominated countries." . . . **George Wallace** not telling his followers how to vote; will say he feels McGovern "does have some pretty liberal positions."

■ Other races: In Rhode Island, Sen. **Claiborne Pell** is narrowing the gap in his uphill race against former Navy Secretary and former R.I. Gov. **John Chafee**. Latest polls show Chafee leading Pell by only four percentage points. Republican pros in state grumbling at Chafee's doveish views, his attempts to dissociate himself from Nixon Administration on Vietnam. . . . When New Jersey Republicans renominated liberal Sen. **Clifford Case** once again it



Jon, *London Daily Mail* Ben Roth Agency

"But, Mary, if ex-President Lyndon Johnson can . . ."

was too much for anti-Communist activist **Charles Wiley** (head of the very effective National Committee for Responsible Patriotism). Wiley has entered the race as Independent, says his candidacy should give moderate Republicans *and* Democrats some way to express their displeasure. Case has ADA rating of 81 per cent—the highest rating of any Republican in the U.S. Senate. . . . In Massachusetts, it's splitsville for Conservative Party with the original leaders, **John McCarty** and **David Brudnoy** pulling out.

■ Latest important defections from Democrats to Republicans: **George Killion**, treasurer of Democratic National Committee from 1945 to 1947, active in the presidential campaigns of **FDR**, **Truman**, **Kennedy** and **Johnson**, has signed up as vice chairman of **John Connally**'s Democrats for Nixon. . . . **Jack Williams**, head of the Boston NAACP, is switching from the Democratic to the Republican Party. Says: "I'm hopeful that my lead will give courage to other black leaders who feel the way I do but have been reluctant to say so." . . . That was pretty much the same reason given by **Floyd McKissick**, former head of CORE, a week or so earlier. "Blacks," he said, "need political leverage in both parties."

■ Thirteen Czech spectators at the **Olympic Games** seized the opportunity to defect and ask for political asylum. . . . **Ludek Pachman**, the Czech chess grandmaster who has been in and out of jail since 1969 for supporting **Dubcek**, has been told he may be granted an exit visa to play chess in Holland. He has requested emigration papers for himself and his family. . . . *News from behind the Curtain* reports that other Czech dissidents, including **Jan Slink**, son of executed **Slansky** colleague **Otto Slink**, may be allowed to go into exile. Slink also was jailed following Soviet invasion. . . . A Canadian student, **Michael Dagenais**, whose car was crushed by a Soviet tank in Prague in 1968, has gotten a writ to seize the equipment of a Soviet skating team in Montreal—until the bill for his car is paid. . . . Rumors persisting that some sort of deal is in the making that would topple the **Lon Nol** regime in Cambodia and replace it with a **Sihanouk** government. It's denied by everyone, but keeps popping up.

■ Much of European press is absolutely sure, positive and can't be argued out of the proposition that George McGovern's campaign slogan **"Come Home America"** means that McGovern intends to dismantle NATO, and bring the troops home.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The phone company wants more division managers like Blanche Reardon.

Blanche Reardon is one of the several hundred women executives in the Bell System.

She is a Division Switching Manager for Illinois Bell. In that job she is responsible for the 506 men and women who maintain the equipment in 37 telephone exchanges in Chicago's southern suburbs.

Blanche began working for the phone company in 1954 in the Engineering Department. In the face of tough competition, she was promoted to various jobs in engineering and marketing. On the way up to Division Manager, she held such responsible positions as Transmission Systems Engineer and Data Marketing Manager.

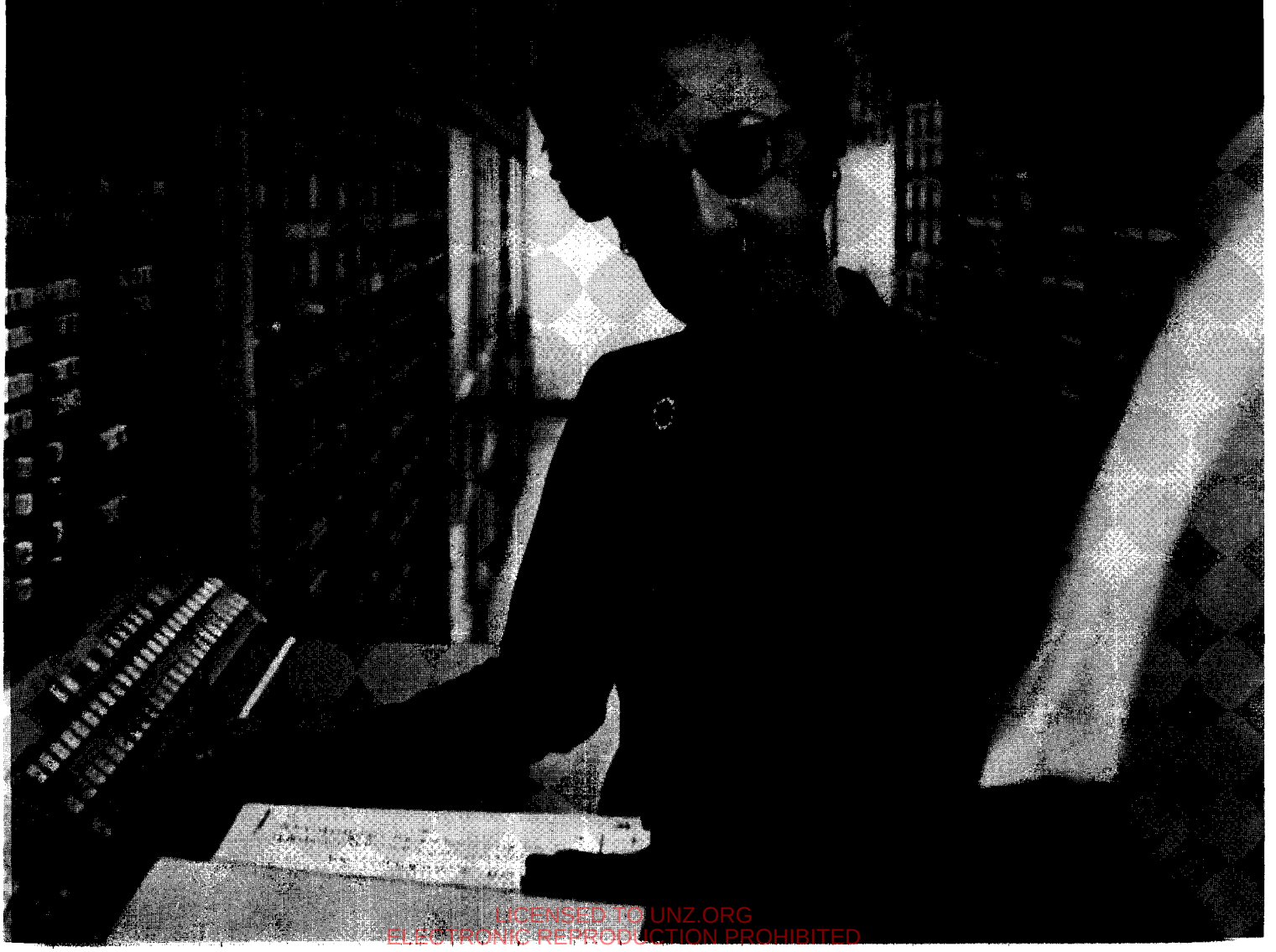
What she wanted throughout her career was to have her work evaluated solely on merit. That was important.

And that's the way we want it throughout the Bell System. We want our people to do what they like to do and do best. And we want them to advance.

So today, when openings exist, local Bell Companies are offering applicants and present employees some jobs they may never have thought about before.

That's why in today's phone company you'll find both men and women working as mechanics, truck drivers, installers, operators, service representatives—and division managers.

AT&T and your local Bell Company are equal opportunity employers.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Nixon- . . .

I agree wholeheartedly with your editorial endorsing the Nixon-Agnew ticket ["The Week," Sept. 1]. Since I agree with the reasoning as well as the conclusion of that editorial, I was especially glad to see "Richard Nixon and the GOP: This Is Your Life," in the same issue. Liberals have often accused conservatives of being annoyed with Mr. Nixon simply because he has ignored our ideological demands. Liberals *and* conservatives needed your splendid reminder that those "ideological demands" have in fact been the Republican Party's principles throughout Mr. Nixon's political life.

New York, N.Y. RICHARD LEONIS

I note with pleasure that the editors have realistically decided to support the Nixon-Agnew ticket. I have believed for some time that this was no time for us to sulk in our tents. For the alternative to four more years of President Nixon is just too frightening to contemplate.

As to James Burnham's piece on "Micro- *v.* Macro-Politics" [Sept. 1], his concluding sentence—"poor George McGovern will be lucky to carry the District of Columbia"—is just the kind of euphoria that enabled the Dewey-Warren ticket to snatch defeat out of the jaws of victory. For all of McGovern's fumbling, as the election nears, the calls to party loyalty will, in my opinion, become stronger. The election will be much closer than the pollsters now opine.

Conservatives, unite and man the oars, for what you hear ahead is NIAGARA!

Chattanooga, Tenn. FRANK W. PRESCOTT

In their terse endorsement of the Nixon-Agnew ticket, the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW seem to have reached the conclusion first, and then worked backwards, trying to find words and phrases to justify the decision.

NR's editors cling to a sublime faith that, somehow, the next four years of Nixon will be more endurable than four years of McGovern. But how can they be so sure? Are Nixon's welfare proposals, betrayal of Taiwan, groveling before Red China in his Mainland trip, monumental government deficit, and proposals to end the draft *in toto* really any better than anything McGovern might do? And if he repudiated the promises he made to conservatives in 1968, isn't it logical to assume he will repudiate whatever promises he made to conservatives in 1972? Especially if he has the conservative vote in his hip pocket—"*faute de mieux*?"

After twenty years of supporting Richard Nixon, I find I can no longer trust the man, and can no longer believe what he says. For this reason, I will not vote for Richard Nixon—or anyone else—for President this year. And if this decision sets me apart from other conservatives whom I respect and admire, that is the way it will have to be.

New York, N.Y. LIONEL LOKOS

. . . Agnew

I've just finished the Agnew piece by M. Stanton Evans ["The Political Odyssey of Spiro T. Agnew," Aug. 18]. It's great—the best analysis of Agnew to date. Since I don't know Agnew, I can only assume, from my confidence in Evans, that his description of the man is correct—but his *analysis* obviously gets to the central political questions. The fortunes of our own (i.e., conservative/libertarian) political beliefs are now quite definitely intertwined with Agnew—his own beliefs, his ability to articulate them, etc.—and such an analysis is indispensable.

MARVIN H. EDWARDS

Oklahoma City, Okla.

In your editorial "Agnew" ["The Week," Aug. 4], you assert that "Richard Nixon . . . first met Mr. Agnew in New York in

SUNDSTRAND

Contributing experience, technology, engineering, manufacturing integrity and capability to the Aerospace • Air Comfort • Power Transmission • Fluid Handling • Machine Tool • and Mobile Equipment markets.

Sundstrand Corporation
ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS 61101

SUNDSTRAND ®

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1968," and Mr. Evans' cover story helps solidify the anachronism by suggesting that the President first noticed Agnew's ability when he selected him. Richard M. Nixon, *Meet the Press*, October 23, 1966: "At the present time I have campaigned across this country. . . . I think Agnew will win over Mahoney because he is just simply far superior as a candidate. . . . Ted Agnew is superbly qualified and the other fellow isn't." Beyond the cynical haste of "one Eagleton—'to go,'" the importance of this bit of history is that familiarity and compatibility produced this century's only other first-rate Vice President.

San Jose, Calif. JOHN M. ENRIGHT

Israel: Two Alternatives

William Buckley's column "Israel as 51st State" ["On the Right," Sept. 1] made a tongue-in-cheek proposal to solve the problem of Israel by having the U.S. annex it. For sheer boldness, the plan recalled that expounded in *NR* suggesting an American occupation of Libya.

However, I have a more workable alternative. Would it not be logical to suggest we collectively repudiate our Declaration of Independence and by Executive Agreement (which has the binding effect of treaty and is constitutional) declare that the U.S. is a vassal state, protectorate or province of Israel? American soldiers, sailors and airmen could be at the disposal of the Tel Aviv government (as were the Scots, Welsh, Irish, Hessians and other subject peoples in Britain's past), ready to smite the Arabs, Russians or whoever else is the designated enemy. American resources—as tribute, not loans—could continue to flow to develop oil, build kibbutzim or "make the desert bloom."

With the U.S. a protectorate, no question could be raised about such questions as "special" treatment and Israel's violating "church-state separation." Also, no question could be raised about the reparations for the U.S. servicemen killed or injured aboard the *USS Liberty* in June 1967.

If there's much to be said for annexing Israel, there is something to be said for our "Declaration of Dependence," isn't there? Just think, we'd probably get Dayan as Proconsul!

Brooklyn, N.Y. E. R. WACHE

I see that Mr. Buckley has proposed making Israel the 51st state, and so I am writing you to offer a better alternative. You see, there is a much more auspicious way to handle the Middle Eastern problem.

Israel should be made a territory of the United States and then should be quickly named the governmental district. The District of Columbia could be made the 51st state or, more likely, returned to Maryland. Now, as the President, Congress and all the other agencies of the government (this includes the IRS!) are making their

ANOTHER DULL SPEECH?

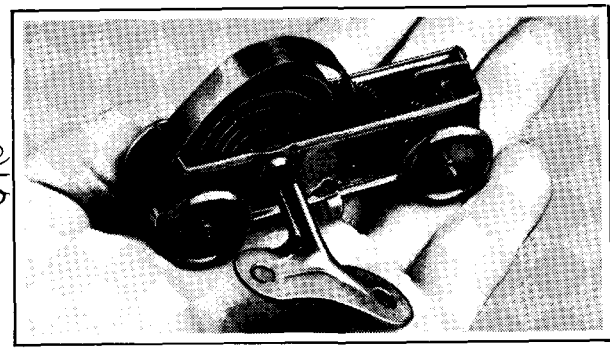
Pick a really interesting speaker next meeting . . .

from *Catherine Babcock, Inc.* Locating good speakers is no problem when you deal with Catherine Babcock. You'll find the right speaker for your next meeting—whether it be social, business, student, civic or political—a speaker who can make your meeting come alive (and one who shares your viewpoint!). Take your choice from this roster of well-known conservatives:

***William A. Rusher**
***Russell Kirk**
***M. Stanton Evans**
***Jeffrey Hart**
***Ernest Van Den Haag**
***D. Keith Mano**
***Peter P. Witonski**
***David Brudnoy**
***J. Daniel Mahoney**
***Cornelius J. Troost**
***"Johannes Eff"**
***F. Clifton White**
***Robert K. Dornan**

You'll never have to worry about a dull meeting or poor attendance when you use speakers of this calibre. All you have to do is tell us the name of your organization and when your meeting is scheduled. We'll take care of the rest. Write today to:

Catherine Babcock, Inc.; 544 Southside Rd.; Virginia Beach, Va. 23451



The Classic Mechanical Toy

WITH POWERFUL CLOCKWORK MOTOR

own an entire fleet of 6 for only $5.95

Remember the good old days when they really knew how to make mechanical toys? They made them out of heavy, stamped metal, not plastic. The toys had powerful wind-up motors and lots of whirring, clicking reduction gears that seemed to keep running forever. We used to take the toys apart because the motors were really the most fascinating part.

Well, after lots of looking, we managed to find a group of highly skilled, dedicated craftsmen overseas who were able to duplicate exactly the top quality, spring-driven classic toy car motors that were precision-made almost a quarter-century ago by gifted German toy masters. These toy motors have virtually unbreakable blue carbon steel springs that we personally clocked at 3½-minutes running time (that's a long time); they have 8 separate metal cogwheel gears (cheap toys have only 2); there's a unique cut-off device that automatically stops the motor when the car overturns or bumps into something (it starts automatically again when the car is righted); the chassis and wheels are heavy stamped metal; and there's superb workmanship throughout.

They're fascinating. They scoot all over the place with gears whirring and clicking. You can race them. Build things. They provide hours of educational fun for the kids. Hobbyists love them. They're marvelous for relieving executive tensions. They just don't make 'em like this anymore. And you can now buy an entire fleet of 6 for less than you'd expect to pay for a single plastic toy nowadays.

Order No. 40700: Set of 6 CLASSIC MECHANICAL CARS (Complete with jumbo wind-up keys) only $5.95 (plus 60¢ postage). Send check or money order.

(N.Y. residents add sales tax.)

FREE gift catalog on request.

THE EVERYTHING GUARANTEE:

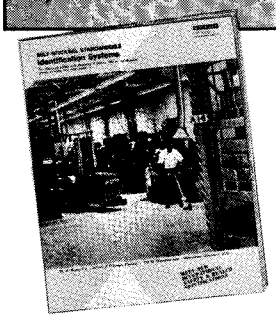
The GALLERY guarantees EVERYTHING: The quality, accuracy of description, availability, prompt delivery. If not delighted, return the cars **within 3 weeks after you receive them** (not the usual 10 days) for an instant refund of purchase price.

finer things by mail from The GALLERY **Dept. 6950, Amsterdam, N.Y. 12010**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nine pressure-sensitive ways to meet O.S.H.A. specifications

QUICK PIPE IDENTIFICATION
Press-on signs with ANSI-A13 approved colors and legends tell pipe content, direction of flow.
DANGER
KEEP OUT
ACCIDENT PREVENTION SIGNS
PAINTLESS WARNING STRIPES
Mark hazards, overheads and corners. Long-wearing, all vinyl, sub-surface stripes can't wear off.
BRILLIANT AISLE LINES
Heavy-duty, wear-resistant vinyl tape in vivid colors outlines traffic lanes in an unbroken line for instant identification.
DO-IT-YOURSELF SIGNS
Anyone can make professional-looking signs with pre-spaced, self-aligning, self-adhesive vinyl letters. Four colors, five sizes.
LIGHT & POWER
DANGER
WEAR EYE PROTECTION
DO NOT WEAR GLOVES
WEATHER RESISTANT SIGNS
HAZARDOUS MATERIALS SIGNALS
Signals on color coded background specify degree of chemical hazard. Complies with NFPA 704M specifications.



Send for free catalog

Over 5,000 stock self-sticking safety and identification products are listed and shown in color. Materials and marking methods comply with OSHA, NFPA, NSC, AEC, and other safety standards. OSHA markings cross-referenced. *Product line comprises a* complete, standardized, job-tested system for plant-wide identification. Authorized distributors located in over 400 principal U.S. cities. For your free catalog, write: Industrial Products Division W. H. BRADY CO., 719 W. Glendale Ave. Milwaukee, Wis. 53201

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS DIVISION
BRADY
W. H. BRADY CO. Est. 1914

way into Israel (poor Israel!) and setting up the new seat of government, the economy and other troubled areas would have the breather they so desperately need.

As for the permanence of this solution to *our* problems, well, strange things happen in the Negev.

Long Beach, Calif. BRIAN BROWN

Vietnam: Have We Won?

Harold Ellithorpe's "General Giap's Next Move" [Sept. 15] was good as far as it went, but it did not get to the central issue. It seems to me that popular intellectual opinion and the apparent policy of our own government have effectively obscured the meaning of recent events in South Vietnam. The thrust of most intellectual opinion in the last few years has had it that a Communist victory in Vietnam was inevitable because a) the Thieu regime is weak, corrupt and unloved by the South Vietnamese and b) the North Vietnamese' commitment and abilities were superior to the South's. This mind-set has been reinforced by our own government's persistent lack of desire to actually win the war.

Which is why I say the meaning of recent events has been obscured. For, in a different time, during another war, a different construction would almost certainly be placed upon the recent facts. Consider the following:

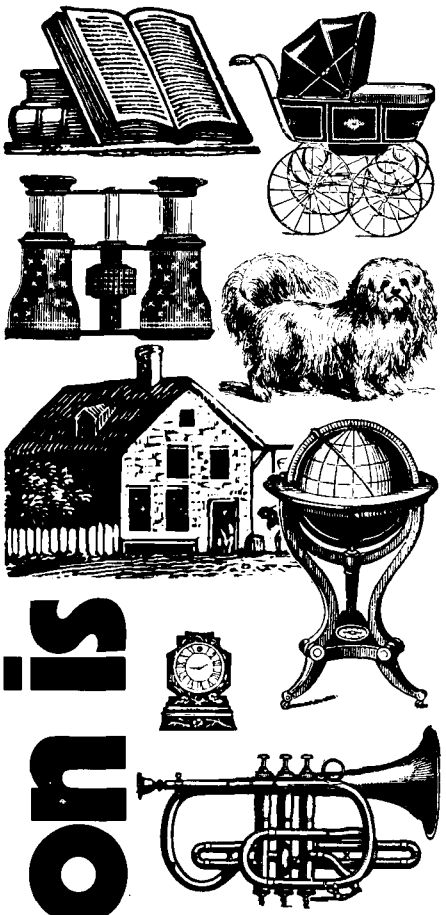
1. The Thieu regime has retained the loyalty of the South Vietnamese people, and has, by and large, governed in an orderly fashion. In the current fighting, the South Vietnamese people, instead of welcoming the North Vietnamese soldiers, fled from them as from the plague.

2. The North Vietnamese commitment seems somewhat weakened, to say the least, with the Vietcong virtually sitting out the current fighting, and with the desertion ratio of the North's regular army very high, in relation to their past desertion history.

3. The South Vietnamese army has put on an impressive show of strength. During the current fighting they have lost only the capital of their northernmost province, which they have been making strong efforts to recapture. They have done this despite the fact that they are, strategically speaking, limited to counterattacking. Moreover, it would seem to be a mistake to say that the blockade has been a decisive factor in the South's success; the success began long before the blockade could have possibly caused the North any logistical problems.

Does this mean that we have actually, honest-to-gosh, *won* the war? I doubt if Washington and the media would know what to do if Hanoi surrendered. Mr. Kissinger seems to be still pushing the peace plan drawn up during the days when our defeat really did seem inevitable. In the hour of our most conspicuous success, the Communists and the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



where the action is

Want to sell a house? Rent an apartment? Market a personal service? Advertise for a job?

You'll get action with a classified ad in NATIONAL REVIEW. Our record for results is good. Consistently good. And you can put this to *your* advantage for as little as 50¢ per word (10 word minimum) plus $1.50 for box number.

Text, accompanied by full payment, must be received 25 days before publication date. Response to box numbers will be forwarded. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason.

Address:
Classified Department,
NATIONAL REVIEW, INC.,
150 East 35th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

For further information call: **OR 9-7330**

media have convinced us that, since victory must be impossible, the characteristics of victory must really be those of defeat.

FPO, New York JOSEPH A. BRADY

Brudnoy and Baldwin

I beg to differ with two points erroneously presented as fact in David Brudnoy's review of *No Name in the Street* ["Books," July 7]. The reviewer states that James Baldwin is "on target" in saying American reaction to its own blacks sending arms to those of South Africa would be hostile, while those same Americans react favorably to Jews sending arms to Israel. This statement has, firstly, no basis in fact and, secondly, is a non-sequitur.

Since the years of the Kennedy-Johnson Administrations up to the present time the American government has evidenced anything but friendship toward the government of South Africa. In view of America's deferential foreign policy to Communist and Third World countries, it seems less than likely that the active collecting of money for a black revolution in South Africa would meet with the hostile reception both Brudnoy and Baldwin forecast. The statement also implies that sending arms to the Communist-supported rebels of Southern Africa is the same thing as sending arms to Israel to defend herself against the Communist-backed aggressor, Egypt. A distortion of this kind is quite at home in the pages of Baldwin's books; it is, however, totally out of place on the pages of the NATIONAL REVIEW.

Victoria, B.C. RICHARD F. BATTERSON

Mr. Batterson is of course quite right in noting the unfriendliness of this government in recent years toward South Africa. But while Americans who contribute millions of dollars annually to Israel are generally esteemed here, perhaps owing, at least in part, to the political clout of American Jews, were American Negroes to send arms to aid insurrectionist movements in South Africa, I think (along with James Baldwin) that American opinion would generally be negative.

I do agree entirely with Mr. Batterson in his differentiation of the two situations: Aid to Israel both helps bolster the only real democracy in the Middle East and helps thwart Communist aims in that region; whereas rebel movements in Southern Africa are frequently Communist-backed. The differences in fact are quite apparent to the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW, *to this reviewer, and, I hope, to most readers. We may, within a very short time, see our nation's values warped enough so that sending arms to aid Communist-backed rebels in Africa will seem desirable—a nation in which many people proudly wave Vietcong flags at rallies for "peace" is probably nearly that far gone—but at the moment Baldwin's opinion is still "on target."* —DB

(Continues on page 1076)

DISTINGUISHED POLITICIANS AND WORLD LEADERS SPEAK TO YOU IN THEIR OWN VOICES

GEORGE McGOVERN
HENRY R. LUCE
EDWARD KENNEDY
INDIRA GANDHI
KING HUSSEIN
MARTIN LUTHER KING

FREE

Colorful 64-page catalog tells you all about revolutionary new cassette-books ... and how you can

SAVE up to 40%

on the ones you want to listen to

CASSETTE BOOKS — THE REVOLUTIONARY NEW WAY TO LEARN... It's easier and more effective when you learn by listening to spoken word cassette-books. Listen and learn anytime, anywhere! Cassette books are handy... fit easily into pocket or purse.

CASSETTE BOOKS COVER ALL SUBJECTS ... Psychology. Self-improvement. Authentic History. Biography. Philosophy. Poetry. Novels. Children's classics. Great drama performed by great actors and actresses. Entertainment. Sports. Religion. Foreign languages. Bridge. Great authors reading from their works in their own voices. You'll find exciting cassette books to match *all* your interests.

SAVE UP TO 40% ON THE CASSETTE-BOOKS YOU WANT TO LISTEN TO ... We have the largest and most exclusive collection of new cassette-books to be found anywhere. And you can *save up to 40% ... and often much more* ... on the cassette books you want to listen to!

VALUABLE CATALOG — YOURS FREE ... Send for your free copy of our colorful new 48-page catalog. It tells you the entire story of new cassette-books, and contains complete descriptions of all the available cassette books. You'll also learn how you can *save 40%* and more on the cassette-books you want ... and how you can listen to cassette books free. *No obligation — mail coupon below now!*

Superscope Library of the Spoken Word

Yes, I'd like to learn the story of new cassette-books and how they can make learning easier and faster for me. Rush me your free catalog that lists all your cassette-books, along with information about how I can save up to 40% and more on the cassette-books I want to listen to. I understand I am not obligated in any way.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

MAIL TO: Superscope Library of the Spoken Word
Dept. NR-10/13-41
455 Fox Street
San Fernando, Calif. 91340

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ LOST, betw. Washington, D.C. & Hanoi, 1 Act. Answers to name "Logan." In family since 1799. Finder pls. call State or Justice Dept.; if no answer, keep trying.

■ Primaries (do they go on forever?) in nine states September 12 brought no sweeping victories. Conservatives can be proud of New Hampshire. Firmly conservative Meldrim Thompson, who supported John Ashbrook in *that* primary, beat out Gov. Walter R. Peterson in the Republican gubernatorial contest. And the also conservative former Gov. Wesley Powell won the Republican senatorial nomination against three competitors; he faces a tough race in November against the incumbent, Democrat Thomas J. McIntyre. Two veteran House Democrats were defeated in close races. South Carolina's seventeen-term Rep. John L. McMillan lost to State Representative John Jenrette by so narrow a margin that a recount may be ordered. In Colorado, twelve-termer Rep. Wayne Aspinall was defeated by college professor Alan Merson. Both are liberals; the determining factors in Aspinall's ouster were reapportionment and the ecology issue on which the 38-year-old Merson pegged his campaign. And, unsurprisingly, Minnesota's very liberal Democratic Senator, Walter F. Mondale, won an easy victory over a cabdriver, a construction worker and an environmentalist who campaigned on a bicycle.

■ The defense budget for fiscal 1973 is "the largest" since World War II, so says the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and the *Wall Street Journal*, among others. Nobody notes that our Gross National Product has risen quite a bit since World War II, and prices have risen even more. Thus, the $74.6 billion current defense appropriation is 6.3 per cent of GNP, compared with 9.4 per cent for defense in 1968. In terms of 1973 dollars, adjusting for inflation, our 1968 budget was $103 billion. Defense, space and foreign affairs claimed 53 per cent of all federal spending a decade ago, 44 per cent in 1970 and 34 per cent in 1973.

■ Somebody is beginning to love us, or is it that devalued dollar? U.S. Travel Service figures show that visitors from Europe for the first six months of this year were up 36 per cent over last year. There were 47 per cent more West Germans, 45 per cent more French, and 37 per cent more Japanese. We noticed one of them the other day, asking a clerk at Tiffany's how much that came to in real money.

■ Both presidential candidates are wooing union support through opposition to job quotas for minorities. The Philadelphia Plan (which aims at 26 per cent minority-employment in construction next year) will not be scrapped officially, but enforcement may be softened. This is as much a pocketbook as a racial issue, since a certain percentage of one group given jobs implies the arbitrary exclusion of an equivalent percentage of another group. The Administration's revival of the Davis-Bacon Act is another pro-union gesture. This law requires contractors on federally assisted projects to pay the prevailing (i.e., union) wage—which eliminates non-union competition, and spreads local wage gains to surrounding areas. There should be a better way to get votes.

■ ". . . All Americans should support our men to the utmost, which means also to stop wordy sniping at our allies. Even the worst blunders made by any of the allied nations fade into relative insignificance when compared with the conduct of our enemies." —*Harry Truman, Philadelphia, January 29, 1945.*

■ Jimmy Hoffa's mission to Hanoi fell through, as did his "lawyer," William L. Taub. It seems Mr. Taub not only wasn't really a lawyer, he wasn't a lot of other things. He turned out not to be a) "worldwide representative" for the Pope's film interests; b) coproducer of the film *Z*, for which he was awarded (and accepted) a Los Angeles "Golden Globe" award; or c) the owner of the MGM building in Paris, which he tried to sell to Eric Schlumberger, the *real* producer of *Z*. According to a September 12 news report, "when the government canceled [Hoffa's and Taub's] passport validations, top officials charged that Mr. Taub had obtained them by misrepresenting to a passport official that Mr. Kissinger and Mr. Erickson [Deputy Attorney General] had approved the prisoner venture." A pity Mr. Taub didn't make it to Hanoi; we might have had our POWs back in exchange for Brooklyn Bridge.

■ Fast on the heels of its refusal to review the petition of Kennecott Copper for compensation for its expro-

Yes, He Gave Us Rehnquist

I don't sport his pin on my pocket
Or carry his hair in a locket.
I'm happy to let The Committee
Solicit to fill up the kitty.
I'm sorry, I can't get excited.
I've waited too long, unrequited.
(The "I am a Keynesian" did it;
It got me right *here*, I admit it.)
I'm grouchy and grumpy. However,
I guess I'll be pulling his lever.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

priated assets, the Chilean Special Copper Tribunal denied a similar petition by Anaconda. The Chilean government had charged Anaconda with "excess profits" of $364 million. "The tribunal's decision demonstrated that the government of Chile does not intend to abide by generally accepted principles of international law, which requires that fair compensation must be promptly paid for expropriated property," said Anaconda President John B. M. Place. Accurate enough, but he needn't act surprised—his company wrote off its $302.6-million investment in Chile last year.

■ Every day in every way, it gets better in Uganda, or at least you'd better think so if you're a Ugandan. The first Asians to obey President General Idi Amin's order to leave report they were searched at bayonet point. All funds and most jewelry were confiscated; an Indian citizen who had hidden valuables in some sweets was led away and not seen again. Once the ninety thousand Asians are out of the country, Amin says, European-owned businesses will be taken over. Meanwhile, Ugandans must shape up: no more loafing on the job, no more drinking. "In Uganda when a person gets $150,000 he thinks that he is rich and takes to drinking"; unless we get rid of that attitude, warns Amin, "it will spoil our economic plan and make us a laughing stock of the people we have expelled from the country." The economy is well on the way to Aminosocialism, now that the President General has set up a state-owned wholesaling systim and prohibited sale of property by "private arrangement." Turning to foreign affairs, he wired Kurt Waldheim and Golda Meir, suggesting that Israel's Jews be shipped back to England, and adding an historical sidelight: "Germany is the right place where when Hitler was the Prime Minister and supreme commander, he burned over six million Jews." Then, resting briefly from his labors, Amin, who was a champion boxer in his younger days, told an audience of fledgling army officers last week: "Although I never studied politics in school, I consider myself much better than most of the politicians in the world today."

■ Now, honestly, you can't crucify George McGovern for supporting Henry Wallace, that was 24 *years* ago, and besides his campaign staff says he chickened out and voted for Harry the Warmonger, or else he didn't vote at all, that's what his biographer says, and don't try to cloud the issue by claiming he was a sponsor of the American Peace Crusade in 1951, that was 21 *years* ago, because all you've got to go on is a story in the *Daily Worker*, and even if he was, he was just misled, like Linus Pauling and Dashiell Hammett and W. E. B. DuBois and all the other sponsors, I mean, *really* . . .

■ On September 24, the Center for Constructive Alternatives, which was founded by George Roche, president of Hillsdale College, will present the first of a series of programs on contemporary themes at Hillsdale, Mich. This one, "Recycling the City: Alternatives to Decay," will feature, among others, Edward Banfield, Will Herberg, Harry Jaffa, M. Stanton Evans, Ben Rogge and Ronan Gribbs, mayor of Detroit. Participating scholars and writers in future programs will include Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, Murray Rothbard, Gottfried Dietze, Thomas Molnar, Harold O. J. Brown and Enoch Powell. For further information, or if you wish to receive *Imprimis*, the journal of the CCA (without cost), drop a note to: CCA, Hillsdale College, Hillsdale, Mich. 49242.

■ Herr Doktor Anthony Lewis, *Greuelpropagandameister* over at the *New York Times*, has just been awarded the Theodore Sorensen Award of the prestigious *Institut für Ersatzanalogie* for the following gem, lodged in a column revealing that the U.S. Navy is intercepting shipments of rice from Red China to North Vietnam. The judges especially liked the Reverse English (*das umgekehrt Effet*): "One of the Nazis condemned to death at Nuremberg was the wartime governor of Holland who caused a civilian famine by ordering the dikes destroyed."

■ Erratum: In his rundown of Senate races last issue, Cato reported that the Republicans might win the senatorial race in Louisiana if Republican nominee Ben Toledano could be persuaded to "step aside" in favor of former National Committeeman Tom Stagg. In fact, Toledano was chosen as the nominee by the State Central Committee when the first Republican candidate, C. L. McLean, withdrew, and it is not legally or mechanically possible for Toledano to step aside at this point.
—ED.

Political Olympics

As the Munich Olympic Games came to an end, there was perhaps a certain poetic justice in the fact that their political impact eclipsed their athletic interest. After all, the Games had opened with a crass political ploy: the banning of the Rhodesian team, the African plaintiffs being led by, for instance, General Amin, Uganda. This was scarcely an auspicious beginning.

In last summer's Pan Am Games, the Cuban team became a symbol of Castroite self-assertion and the reemergence of Cuba from its quarantine in the Western Hemisphere. In 1972, it was the East German government's turn: Its powerful team proclaimed with every gesture the new legitimacy of East Germany as a European power.

About the U.S. team, perhaps the less said the better. Despite brilliant individual performances, the team exhibited a pervasive disorganization: A coach somehow failed to get two track stars to their race on time; an obvious and avoidable medical infraction cost a swimmer his gold medal; a pole vaulter had the wrong pole;

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the basketball team was inept and poorly coached—besides being cheated by the Olympic officials; Mark Spitz had scarcely dried off before crassly commercializing himself; the U.S. team was top-heavy with officials coming along for a European junket. Symbolically, the whole thing could be read in only one way: incompetence and decadence.

A very special irony enveloped the ambitions of West Germany in these Olympics, and also those of Willy Brandt. The last Olympics held in Germany, at Berlin in 1936, had been a Nazi carnival of self-congratulation, heavy with military overtones. But these Games were going to be entirely different in order to symbolize the fact that the new democratic Germany is entirely different from that bad old one. Now, at Munich—Munich!—that new Germany would be symbolically absolved, manifest itself as a peaceful nation in the family of man. There were expiatory tours to the former site of Dachau and so on. And, especially, the visible presence of guns was *verboten*. The cops guarding the Games were unarmed. When reporters, inconvenienced in gaining entry, charged the Germans with "gestapo tactics," all security virtually disappeared. This, after all, was the new Germany.

But precisely that political aspiration and the desire for that bit of symbolism brought the disaster. The real terrorist toads easily penetrated Herr Brandt's fictitious garden of brotherly love. The ideal aspirations and pious sentiments of the new Germans not only had not been enough; they had themselves led directly to the slaughter. The irony was too much: Jews were still being killed in Germany.

And the political fall-out has been monumental:

1. Israel promptly launched severe retaliatory strikes against Syria and Lebanon, no doubt in an effort to force these governments to take action against the Palestinian guerrillas. But such retaliation had the larger effect of re-polarizing the Middle Eastern situation. It is no secret that, since President Sadat's expulsion of the Soviet "advisers," one of the chief Israeli fears has been that after the election Washington will apply pressure toward the goal of a negotiated settlement. The Israeli attacks hit Lebanon and Syria, but they also hit at that prospect.

2. Willy Brandt, his chances in the December elections none too bright, had hoped for a boost from a successful Olympics. Enough said.

3. George McGovern suddenly saw a chance to repair his flagging fortunes where the Jewish vote is concerned, and called for the ostracism and punishment of Lebanon and Egypt. As Evans and Novak commented: "McGovern's demand for U.S. retaliation against Egypt (which recently threw out its Soviet ally) and Lebanon (whose fragile pro-Western government is continuously threatened with fatal entrapment in the issue of the Palestinian guerrilla movement) is a wild swing indeed. . . . But if the President were to succumb to the temptation of outbidding McGovern's post-Munich Middle East policy, the result could be catastrophe for the Middle East and the U.S." Meanwhile, at the UN, the U.S. vetoed a resolution calling for cessation of military activities in the Middle East, e.g., the Israeli retaliatory strikes, a diplomatic move characterized by the *New York Times* as "an unexpected blow to the Arabs at the Council table."

4. The guerrilla international had stepped onto the world stage in a big way, amid growing evidence of the existence of a network of terrorists shuttling back and forth among Japan, the Middle East, Europe and Latin America (see "Arabs and Terrorists" by Miles Copeland on page 1062). The *Economist* (London) observed: "This is the new international community of the possessed. It could take years . . . before this phenomenon is destroyed, or destroys itself. Until then we shall have to live with the possibility of men with concealed faces, and concealed minds, breaking with machine guns and bombs into the normal life of many people in many different countries. . . . The day will come when suicidal urban terrorists of a kind the world has not yet seen will have a nuclear device at their disposal."

Oh yes: the 1976 Olympics are scheduled for, of all places, Montreal—which has already had its share of separatist terrorists.

The Gang That Can't Seem To Shoot Straight

In World War II the GIs called it SNAFU—situation normal, all fouled up. And that's the name of the game over at 1910 K Street N.W., the former Muskie for President headquarters that the McGovern for President people took over shortly after Miami Beach. The boys had their troubles at first: Eagleton, O'Brien, Salinger, Ramsey Clark, to say nothing of Harris and Gallup. Growing pains. About a fortnight ago George McGovern looked upon the latest Gallup—it showed him trailing Richard Nixon by 34 points—and commented: "I think we've bottomed out."

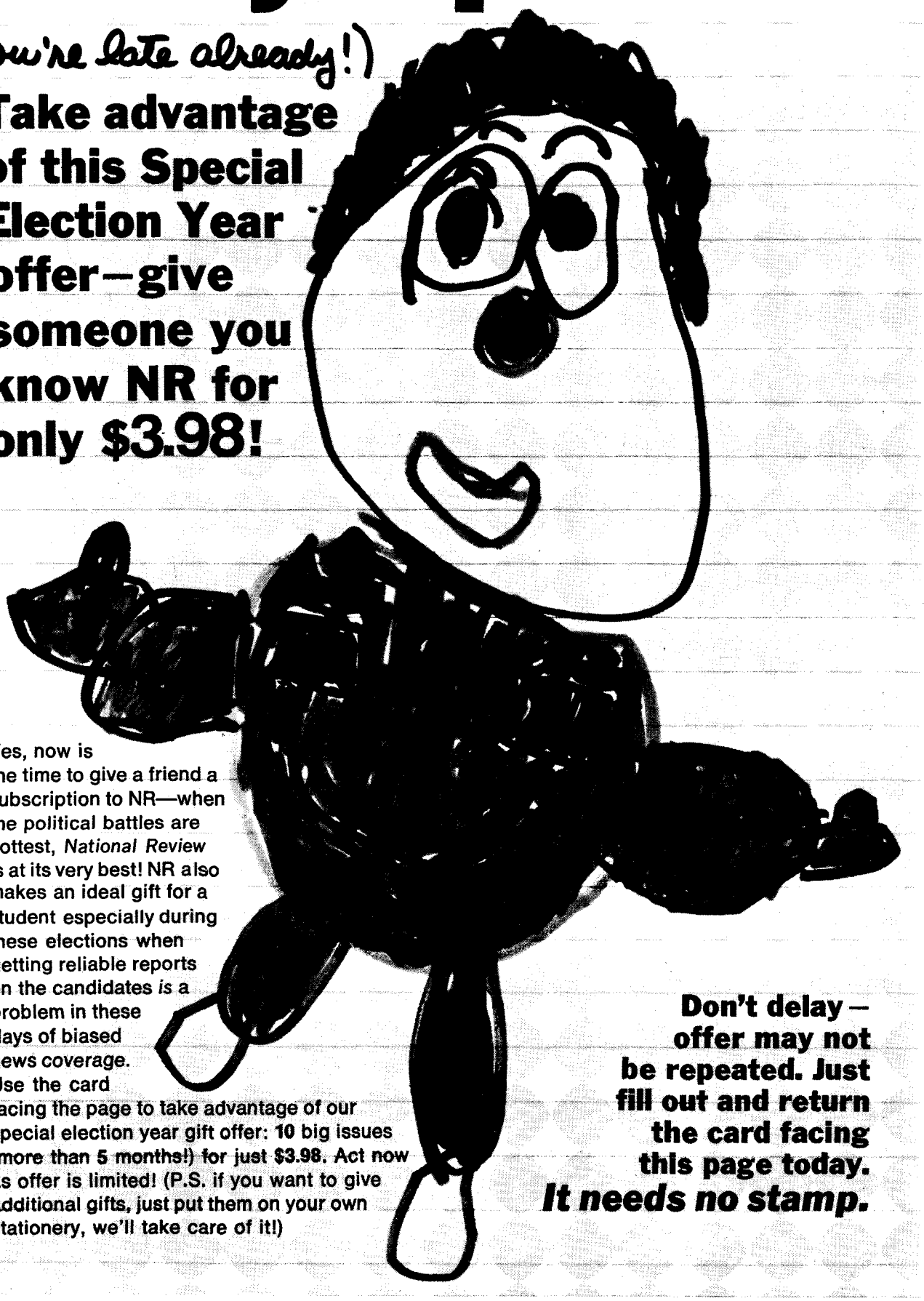
But in the ensuing fortnight: Larry O'Brien has, and very publicly, threatened to resign unless McGovern can keep his political whizkids in line, and McGovern had to step into that scrap himself to try (unsuccessfully) to straighten it out. There's the feud between the new National Democratic Chairman, Mrs. Jean Westwood ("I'm the chairbroad," she commented soon after her election), and everyone else in sight over who will be running the Democratic Party, or what's left of it, after November 7. Rep. Frank Thompson, an old-line liberal Democrat who was put in charge of the vital voter registration drive, resigned, also very publicly, in a fight with Gary Hart over who should spend the money and for what. Hart had merrily dispersed campaign funds that had been earmarked for Thompson's operation. McGovern fumbled that one too, and Thompson's resignation cut another of the tenuous bridges he is trying to build to the regular Democratic Party organization. Rick Stearns, McGovern's Western organizer, was accused—rightly or wrongly, it went back to an anti-Israel ad he had cosponsored as a student—of being antisemitic. Pressure was put on McGovern to remove him. McGovern gave the armtwisters the impression that he would put Stearns in another spot,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hurry up!

(you're late already!)

Take advantage of this Special Election Year offer—give someone you know NR for only $3.98!



Yes, now is the time to give a friend a subscription to NR—when the political battles are hottest, *National Review* is at its very best! NR also makes an ideal gift for a student especially during these elections when getting reliable reports on the candidates *is* a problem in these days of biased news coverage. Use the card facing the page to take advantage of our special election year gift offer: 10 big issues (more than 5 months!) for just $3.98. Act now as offer is limited! (P.S. if you want to give additional gifts, just put them on your own stationery, we'll take care of it!)

Don't delay—offer may not be repeated. Just fill out and return the card facing this page today. *It needs no stamp.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but didn't do anything about it, and everyone was mad. The McGovern people in New York City signed a contract with Arthur Kettler, co-owner of Al Mounia, a fashionable Moroccan restaurant, to run a "George's Cabaret" for six weeks just prior to the election, a sort of fund-raising morale-building operation, then panicked—because Al Mounia was Moroccan would that be taken as an antisemitic gesture?—and reneged on the contract. Arthur Kettler, himself a Jew, took the story to the papers and accused the McGovernites of being "bigoted [and] unbelievably narrow-minded." McGovern appointed Prof. Abram Chayes of Harvard head of his foreign policy advisory board, and sent him off to Israel and Western Europe to quiet fears in those areas about McGovern's isolationism. And at a very private dinner in Paris, attended by only four members of the press including a *Newsweek* correspondent, Chayes said that not only was McGovern willing to abandon all of Southeast Asia, if Hanoi insisted, but that he, Chayes, thought that "removal of all our troops [from Western Europe] is just a matter of time." And it was disavowal time again for G McG. . . . Gordon Weil, a close friend of McGovern and executive director of the campaign, was reported to be resigning by much of the Washington press one morning, was back on the job the next, wouldn't comment on whether it was he, or other McGovern staffers, who had leaked the report of his resignation. He is said to be *not* happy. A blanket spread of full-page ads in Texas papers, very emotional against the war, was set to go and aborted at the very last minute when someone at 1910 K got wind of what the media boys—who hadn't been told Texas was hawkish—were up to. And the new polls rolled in. McGovern still trailed Nixon by 34 points and the slippage in popularity first detected among union members and the youth after the Eagleton flap was reaching epidemic proportions.

For McGovern, that was the fortnight that was.

The Future of McGovernism

In a recent column, David Broder of the *Washington Post* suggests that even in the event of a Nixon landslide it might be difficult to dislodge the McGovernites from their new positions of power within the Democratic Party. After all, notes Broder, Barry Goldwater lost by a wide margin in 1964, and here, eight years later, plenty of Goldwater men are still in the upper reaches

---

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Herewith the early line on the remaining Senate races, completing last issue's chart:

■ At last report Nixon was running ahead of McGovern in *South Dakota*. That was good news for former GOP State Senator Robert Hirsh, who is trying to win the seat of the retiring Karl Mundt. He has an uphill fight on his hands. Democratic Congressman James Abourezk has built a strong campaign organization. He is a favorite pin-up of the leftist Council for a Livable World and is getting significant financial support from it. Abourezk is favored but Hirsh is gaining.

■ What is charisma? Hard to say, but it is clear that *Kansas'* Republican Senator James Pearson does not have it. What is not clear, though, is what Pearson *does* in the Senate. He serves on the Foreign Relations Committee, which is of no use to Kansas. He does stay out of trouble, and Someone Up There must love him because Kansas' Democratic Governor Robert Docking decided not to run against him. So Pearson will beat Dr. Arch Tetzlaff, who may carry his hometown of Prairie Village.

■ Margaret Chase Smith, 74, is not in good health. She does not leave Washington much, which accounts for her good Senate attendance record. It also may account for the fact that the difficult Mrs. Smith, who is known as "the dragon lady" among her Senate colleagues, is still adored down east in *Maine*. She annihilated her primary opponent, a millionaire who spent thirty times more than she did. Now Congressman William Hathaway has the awful task of running against a legend—and a lady legend at that. Mrs. Smith will win.

■ When *Oklahoma*'s Democratic Senator Fred Harris saw that he was going to lose to *anyone* this fall he did what a certain kind of Democrat does when vexed: He ran for President. His campaign lasted six weeks. But it got him out of the Senate race and gave Oklahoma Democrats a good candidate in Congressman Ed Edmondson, who got 50 per cent of the vote in an eleven-man primary. He probably will beat former Governor Dewey Bartlett.

■ It was all over in *Iowa* when Arnold Palmer showed up at Senator Jack Miller's spectacularly successful fund-raising dinner last winter. Miller, best golfer in the Senate and ranking Republican on the Agriculture Committee, will benefit from the popularity of the Administration's farm programs. That is why Iowan Nicholas Johnson, resident radical at the Federal Communications Commission, and Congressman John Culver refused to seek the Democratic nomination. The sacrificial lamb is Richard C. Clark, a former aide to Culver.

■ What is a Caleb Boggs? No one has heard of him in the other 49 states but in *Delaware* they think Republican Senator Boggs is the greatest thing since, well, former Senator John Williams who retired in 1970. Boggs should get at least 65 per cent of the vote against his opponent, Joseph R. Biden Jr., a former Republican who will be thirty years old by election day.

■ Senator John Sherman Cooper's decision to retire has set the stage for an ideological shootout in *Kentucky*. Conservative former Governor Louis Nunn won an impressive victory in the GOP primary and is favored over State Senate majority leader Walter Huddleston, a Democrat who not only likes McGovern but says so in public.

■ *Alaskans* are vividly aware of the extent to which their lives are affected

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by federal decisions. The Federal Government owns about 90 per cent of Alaska and the future of the Alaskan economy will be determined by the willingness of the government to allow construction of the Alaskan oil pipeline. Republican Senator Ted Stevens is no Henry Clay, but he does have four years of seniority and he is on the Interior Committee. He will beat Eugene Guess, Speaker of the State House.

■ Busing may be anathema to most Americans, but *Minnesotans* this fall will re-elect the Senate's most ardent pro-buser, Walter Mondale. This is explained, in part, by the fact that blacks comprise only 0.9 per cent of the Minnesota voting-age population. But, then, Minnesotans are wild about Senator Hubert Humphrey and were even wild about Eugene McCarthy until he took to sulking. The Rev. Phil Hansen, a Nixonite, will break his lance on Mondale.

■ *Massachusetts* voters rarely are tepid. They have loved their Senators Kennedy. And they love Republican Senator Edward Brooke at least as much. He is attractive. He attends to the problems of his constituents. He recently leapt at an opportunity to leave the Armed Services Committee and join the less publicized but more consequential Appropriations Committee. In short, he is a formidable candidate running on a favorable track. He will rout his Democratic opponent.

■ John Chafee became Secretary of the Navy after the voters of *Rhode Island* defeated his 1968 bid for re-election as governor. They were angry because he had raised taxes. But today Rhode Islanders seem ready to forgive him. He is favored to retire Democratic Senator Claiborne Pell, whose Senate nickname is "Stillborn."

■ *South Carolina* Democrats are sending State Senator Eugene Zeigler against Senator Strom Thurmond. One recent private poll showed Zeigler getting 16 per cent of the vote. All the state's tough customers—most notably former Governor Robert McNair—decided not to risk it.

■ The rule of thumb in *Mississippi* is that if James Eastland, 67, is dead on election day he will get only 60 per cent of the vote. Eastland is alive and well. Republican Gilbert Carmichael earned the right to get beaten by Eastland by winning a primary contest with James Meredith, the man who, a decade ago this month, became the first black student at Ole Miss.

■ *North Carolina* has one of the clearest clashes between a conservative (Republican candidate Jesse Helms) and a liberal of the "new politics" stripe (Congressman Nick Galifianakis). Today this race is too close to call. It will be a test of Nixon's coattails.

■ *Nebraska*'s Senator Carl Curtis has the laugher of the season. His opponent is State Senator Terry Carpenter, 76, an eccentric who first held elective office forty years ago. Nebraska gives Curtis the sort of affection it usually reserves for Big Red halfbacks.

■ Pity the sensible people of *Oregon*. This year they are condemned to choosing between Republican Senator Mark Hatfield and former Senator Wayne Morse. Morse is a lot smarter but 21 years older. Hatfield will win.

■ Democratic Congressman Ray Blanton has had his seat redistricted out from under him in *Tennessee*, so he is trying for Howard Baker's Senate seat. Busing is the big issue but both men are ardently against it. The Tennessee Democratic Party has no interest in McGovern and thus can concentrate on beating Baker. But Nixon should roll up a huge majority and Baker should win comfortably.

■ Republican Senator Clifford Hansen may be the nicest man in the Senate—or for that matter in *Wyoming*, the population of which is not much larger than the Senate's. The former governor probably knows everyone in the state. In fact, he is well on his way to becoming a Wyoming institution. His ranch near the Grand Tetons was used for filming the Western film classic, *Shane*. It is not clear why such a nice man would want to leave such a lovely place to go to Washington. But he does, and on November 8 his opponent, Mike Vinich, can be back tending his bar.

■ The question in *Illinois* is not whether Senator Charles Percy will win a second term, but how handily he will maul Congressman Roman "Pooch" Pucinski. The Illinois Democratic Party is split six ways from Sunday, especially in Chicago where Mayor Daley still bears a gargantuan grudge against the McGovernite apparatchiks. Many downstate Republicans despise Percy but they cannot bring themselves to vote for the Congressman who is the distilled essence of the Daley machine. Percy may win by a million votes.

■ Republican Congressman James McClure is ahead in the race for the *Idaho* Senate seat of retiring Republican Len Jordan. His opponent is Bud Davis, formerly coach at Colorado University and currently president of Idaho State University. Davis is a personable and vigorous campaigner but because of McGovern this is not a good year to be a Democrat in Idaho.

■ For a while some people were afraid *Texas* Senator John Tower might become a victim of John Connally's attempt to keep a foot in both parties. Connally is the leader of Democrats for Nixon, but wants to get credit for some Democratic successes this fall. Barefoot Sanders, Tower's opponent, was slow in developing an organization, encouraging speculation that the Texas wing of Democrats for Nixon might double as the Sanders organization. But Tower has the quiet support of most conservative Democrats and recent polls show him running 12 to 16 percentage points ahead of Sanders. He is even leading Sanders among Chicano voters. Tower will win going away and thus demonstrate that Connally is not the only heavy hitter in Texas politics.

■ What do Lester Maddox, Coretta King and Julian Bond have in common? They supported 33-year-old *Georgia* State Representative Sam Nunn's successful primary fight against Democratic Senator David Gambrell. Governor Jimmy Carter appointed Gambrell when Senator Richard Russell died last year. Gambrell, like other recent Senate appointees (Charles Goodell of New York and Ralph Tyler Smith of Illinois) never managed to develop a solid popular base. Congressman Fletcher Thompson, the conservative GOP Senate candidate, probably would have had an easier time against Gambrell but he still has a good chance to win. —CATO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Republican structure. Indeed, the 1972 Republican Convention was scarcely more liberal than the one in San Francisco that nominated Goldwater. From all of which, Broder reasons, it looks as if the McGovernites are here to stay.

Maybe. But also maybe not. The question is an interesting one, and it is still open.

The key point is that the Goldwater men are still around and the Republican Party still largely conservative, because the Goldwater candidacy reflected far-reaching demographic changes and profound political developments. Between 1960 and 1964 the center of political gravity in the Republican Party was shifting southwestward. Its former power base in the Northeast was becoming increasingly Democratic while the formerly Democratic South and the Border States were moving toward the Republicans. The ethnic voters and the Irish Catholics, once staunch supporters of FDR, were also abandoning their old Democratic allegiance as they moved up in the world, and becoming more conservative.

Goldwater himself—and it is an important datum—was an extremely reluctant candidate, and the so-called Goldwater movement, reflecting as it did far-reaching objective changes, was always much more than the vehicle for a particular candidate.

The question that remains to be answered as far as the Democrats are concerned is whether the McGovern candidacy similarly reflects profound long-run changes.

Perhaps it does. His theoreticians argue that the old parties are finished, and that youth, the campuses, the media, the minorities and the "greened" suburbs will coalesce to form a new and dominant power base.

And, indeed, those varied elements are highly visible. But it seems possible—and, on present showing, probable—that the McGovernite thesis involves a gross arithmetical error and that the McGovernite constituency remains relatively small. McGovern was anything but a reluctant candidate. He stepped eagerly into a leadership vacuum in the Democratic Party, and skilfully fashioned a victory in the primaries out of a notably small popular vote. When the election proves the McGovernite thesis incorrect, then the McGovernites will resemble the sergeant at the end of *Beau Geste*, alone in the fort and rushing from one crenellation to another to simulate a battalion firing.

Lawrence O'Brien seems already to have entered the fort, quietly biding his time. Beyond trying to make some sense of the McGovern organization—if that is the right word for it—he also seems to think the McGovernites have miscalculated. The terms of his conflict with the McGovern lieutenants are revealing. The McGovernites favor New Politics themes. O'Brien wants McGovern ads and rhetoric to stress his identity as the *Democratic* candidate, not the "new phenomenon," not the Green Man. In O'Brien's view, McGovern should emphasize the traditional Democratic "common man" issues and the pocketbook vote-getters.

O'Brien, in short, is trying to normalize McGovern, de-Green him. No doubt O'Brien realizes that a McGovern victory is improbable, but he is waging his intramural fight over the identity of the campaign and over the identity of the party that is to emerge from the election. He is constructing—if he can—bridges over which ordinary Democrats can return to the fold.

If the Democratic Party is to be salvaged as something more than a mere faction, then the more politically assimilable of the new forces will have to be combined with as much of the normal Democratic constituency as can be held. Such a coalition would contain abundant contradictions, but perhaps no more than the New Deal coalition. In any case, it would require great political skill to fashion it and hold it together—an operation, on present form, far beyond the capacity of either McGovern or the intransigent young intellectuals who lead his organization. The tenure of the McGovernites could be mercifully short.

Boeings for the Ramps of China

Peking's purchase of ten Boeing 707s is much the most significant action to date, as distinguished from talk, confirming from China's side the reality and extent of the ping-pong turn. Buying a large consignment of air transports that will henceforth be the basic element of China's civil air transport structure is not like buying food or consumer goods or even machinery. The Civil Aviation Administration of China (CAAC) will be exploiting an achievement of American technology and industry, but will at the same time be making itself to an important degree dependent on American technology and industry, and therefore also on American policy. Chinese pilots, engineers and mechanics will have to get training from Americans. Spare parts and replacements will have to be supplied from America. From the standpoint of economy and efficiency it becomes almost inevitable that China will get additional aircraft from this country, as well as lots of ground installations and equipment.

CAAC has also bought a few Soviet aircraft (Il-62s), and four used British Tridents, and has ordered some more medium-range British aircraft plus three Concordes. But the Boeings, supplemented by the British and Franco-British shorter-range planes, will be CAAC's mainstay as it breaks out into the world. This would seem to point to China's confidence that the budding Sino-American détente is not going to wither in the near future, and also a belief that, though relations with Moscow may improve, they will not soon again achieve the total intimacy that once made the Soviet Union China's sole supplier of advanced industrial products.

While acquiring modern aircraft, China is at present also moving rapidly ahead with plans for transforming CAAC into an international air transport system. Chinese

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

representatives are busily negotiating with a dozen nations about routes, traffic rules, landing rights etc. The routes that CAAC seems to want to start with are one into Europe and another into East Africa, where Ethiopia (politically close to the U.S., as it happens, and site of a major U.S. communications and electronic installation) has already granted rights for what may become the main Chinese staging point for Africa. They are discussing with the Canadians a possible trans-Pacific route based on Vancouver at this end. Any plan for reciprocal U.S.-China flights, however, will probably have to wait for diplomatic recognition and some sort of settlement of the Taiwan issue.

Angela Liberata

Only a few months ago, Angela Davis cut a romantic figure: young, radical, black, beautiful, brilliant, violent, enigmatic; a fugitive; a lover ("The night after I saw you in court," she wrote to George Jackson, "for the first time in months, I dreamt. . . . We were together, fighting pigs, winning. We were learning to know each other. I love you."); and a prisoner in prospect of martyrdom. In short: America's La Pasionaria. But with her acquittal on murder-kidnaping-conspiracy charges, she lost the foundation of her mythic appeal. The real Angela—a quaintly rigid Communist in the archaic Stalinist mode—has begun to peep forth.

In July Miss Davis, who at the end of her own trial had announced she would work to liberate "every political prisoner in the world," received a public appeal for help from a Czech exile group whose fellow dissidents were about to be tried in Prague. (Three were later imprisoned for informing other Czechs of their constitutional right to cross names off ballots.) According to a London *Times* account (July 29), Miss Davis, through spokesman (and fellow Communist) Charlene Mitchell, replied "that people in Eastern Europe got into difficulties and ended in jail only if they were undermining the government. Those who left to go into political exile were also attacking their own country."

A month later, while touring the Soviet Union, Miss Davis praised "Lenin's ethnic policy" as a model for the U.S., and added: "Everything we have seen in the Soviet Union will inspire us in our struggle. Our devotion to Marxism-Leninism and Communism and our own ideological convictions have been greatly strengthened." Loaded with Soviet honors (a new Soviet rose was named for her), she came home by way of East Germany, where Wall-builder Walter Ulbricht saluted her as "a true Communist in the battle against our mutual enemy," and presented her the Great Star of International Friendship.

Ever since her UCLA days, when she first became the subject of national controversy, Miss Davis has been candid about her Marxism and about her allegiance to the CPUSA. Even so, it was understandable (if not excusable) that as an Establishment-baiter and the object of prosecution she should receive the customary liberal sympathy. Much of her following in the press, the universities and the black community was benevolent and non-ideological; e.g., Sammy Davis Jr., before embracing Nixon, helped raise funds for her defense. But Miss Davis is exacting about the terms on which she will accept admirers; as she said in a recent rebuke to the Black Panther Party, "Don't separate me from my party. I am a Communist."

Now that she is free, she may lose her status as a Cause; and her brazen commitment to the world's most frozen and ruthless Establishment may appear in an

Inflammable Statements Should Be Avoided

—AND IT MAY INTEREST YOU TO KNOW THAT THOSE WHO SHOW THEIR TRUE COLOR BY ATTACKING OPEN-ADMISSIVENESS ARE ALSO HYSTORECTICALLY ANTI-SEMANTIC!
VALEDICTORY
DIPL
JMA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

uglier light to much of her former constituency. It will be interesting to note whether her liberal and radical sympathizers can swallow the new Angela, pillar of orthodoxy. It is possible that her days as a superstar of the Left are over.

A Watergate Hypothesis

The more that is published concerning the Watergate affair, the more confusing it gets, and from indications so far there is little likelihood that the trial of the break-in party is going to explain very much. We were discussing it the other evening with a chap experienced in the spy business, with which most of the Watergaters seem to be connected, as well as in politics and Washington's way of life. We asked him to formulate a hypothesis that *could* explain what had gone on: a hypothesis that would not merely cover the odd assortment of facts that have come out, but would be psychologically and politically plausible in terms of the persons presumptively involved, a number of whom are his kind of men. We summarize what he came up with:

During the past two years leaks of highly classified documents from top levels of the government, the White House itself conspicuously included, have swollen to a flood. The *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, Jack Anderson and sundry critics and political opponents of the Administration often seem to get hold of top-secret items faster than the officials to whom they are routed. Henry Kissinger can't tell Dick Helms his latest martini formula without its being in print an hour later.

This open conduit was driving the Administration people up the wall. They believed it had reached a stage where it was seriously endangering the nation's interest (cf. the daily Anderson rundown on the secret White House discussions during the Bangladesh business). They know damn well it endangers *their* interests, and makes them look foolish.

The boss demanded that the source or sources of the leaks be located and plugged. Efforts through regular channels weren't getting anywhere—no doubt because the regular channels themselves are leaky. So a special mission was given to some special types familiar with these shadowy realms. Nothing much would have been said in so many words, and no one high up in the apparatus of White House or Republican Party would have been directly involved. A minor staff member would merely have remarked to X (let us designate him, and he might have been plural): "We want to find out what's what about these leaks. It's your job. Do it your way. Any money you need will show up in one way or another. Get going." So X got, and, among other things, put together a little team of other shadowy types whom he had known from past ventures.

In the course of X's researches, he noted that leaked material was often getting promptly to the ears of prominent members of the Democratic high command, who in a number of cases put it to partisan public use. Thus an investigation to determine who in the Democratic apparatus was getting what became an indirect approach to who was leaking what from the White House (and government agencies). And for X and his associates, who were hard-liners, an investigation of the Democratic apparatus was attractive in itself, with the potential for learning a few things that might embarrass the Democratic apparatchiks and candidates, to whose policies the X-type is resolutely opposed.

Thus the motivation for the casing and bugging etc. of Democratic headquarters at the Watergate and quite possibly other Democratic lairs. Notice that in this rendering no important governmental or Republican Party official would have sanctioned these shadowy operations or even known what exactly was going on. The circumstances in which a bugging (or de-bugging) squad was picked up suggest that one of their own crowd (or a White House staffer who had an idea what they were up to) exposed them.

Granted the general pattern so far, it does not seem probable that anything much will come out in the trial, if any, of those who were picked up, or that anyone of public importance will be incriminated. The private suit being brought by the Democratic Committee may just fade away. After all, in the course of this project X and his friends might have picked up interesting information that Democrats, also, would prefer not to have aired in public.

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:
Re your column wherein you say that all the world's rivers run south except the Genesee, the Ob, and the Nile, the Oswego River also runs north, all Geneseesymps, Obsymps, and Nilesymps to the contrary notwithstanding. Yours truly,

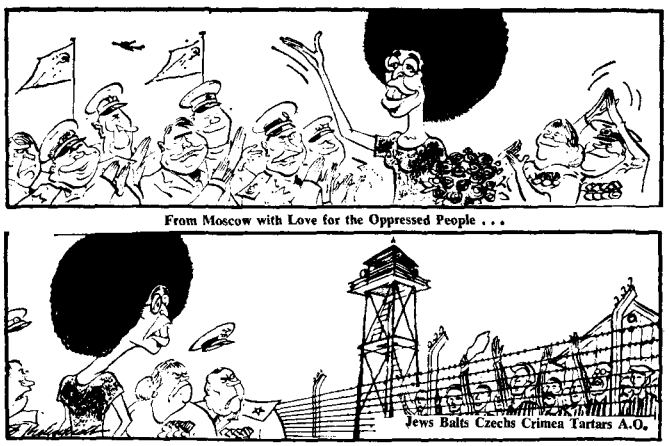
Bob Donovan
Livonia, N.Y.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:
Of late you have come under strong attack from the *Washington Observer* and a group which plans to try you as a war criminal, Youth Action.

The thrust of their attacks revolves around an allegation that you "advocated the American invasion of Libya and the mass genocidal forced expulsion of the Libyan population into the waterless deserts of North Africa." According to your detractors, it is because "he had his sights on the oil of Libya."

As an avid *NR* reader, I have often heard these ac-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Behrendt, *Het Parool*, Amsterdam Ben Roth Agency

cusations. Would you, at least for the sake of this sixteen-year-old conservative, elucidate your readers upon this matter and set the record straight? Cordially,

Peter Blackman
Malibu, California

P.S. I would very much appreciate it if you would publish this letter inasmuch as *NR* readers and other conservatives would be at last convinced as to where *you* stand on this issue. Thank you.

Dear Peter: I reply to your letter only because you are sixteen years old.

A company in which my family has an interest and which operates mostly in Australia and New Zealand bought an option to acquire a share of an exploratory lease in Libya held by an unrelated company, but the option was never exercised and had been abandoned prior to the publication of the article to which the Washington Observer *refers. I never heard of this option until I made an investigation after the* Washington Observer *asserted that the purpose of the article was to save me oil royalties in Libya. The suggestion that in order to help a Libyan exploration in which a company managed by members of my family had already decided not to invest I would a) found a magazine, b) corrupt its directors and editorial board so as c) fifteen years later to publish an article by d) a man I never met who e) proposed military action against the government of Libya with the professed purpose of bringing order to the Middle East but with the true, hidden purpose of f) facilitating an oil exploration in Libya in which members of my family had once shown an interest, an interest by then abandoned—is a causative sequence which Rube Goldberg would have rejected as a strain on the intelligence. Intelligence, however, is a disqualifying attribute for anyone who seeks to take seriously the commentary of the* Washington Observer, *a smut-sheet whose only organizing principle is a dull-witted antisemitism. Yours faithfully*

—WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:
My mother's father was Jewish and her mother was a Chinese Buddhist. My father's mother was a Polish Roman Catholic and his father was a German Lutheran Protestant. I am, therefore, a Chinese Polish German Jew and, religiously, a Hebrew Roman Catholic Lutheran Protestant Buddhist. I am also a Lesbian.

If I am chosen to become a New York delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1976, what percentage of a vote will I have? Yours in confusion,

Roberta Ardelt

Dear Miss Ardelt: I should think the whole of it. Yours cordially *—WFB*

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:
On Aug. 31, 1972, you wrote in a column that a rabbi smiled on the phone. How did he do this? Yours,

Jerry Lon

Dear Mr. Lon: Practice. Years of practice. *—WFB*

■ Mr. Buckley:
I read your column entitled "McGovern Salutes Sargent," which appeared in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* yesterday.

Commenting on McGovern's lengthy speech announcing Mr. Shriver as his running-mate, you indicated that McGovern's speechwriters should: ". . . get something out of *Who's Who*, assuming he's in *Who's Who* . . ."

Now, I do not consider that publication a great work, since I personally know someone who bought his way into it, but simply as a point of interest I want to point something out, using your yardstick of distinction, *Who's Who*. Namely, Mr. Spiro T. Agnew was not listed in *Who's Who* when Richard M. Nixon chose him as a running-mate in 1968. I'm me;

Scott R. Baker
4114 Giles Road
Moreland Hills, Ohio 44022

P.S. "Fame is proof that the people are gullible"
—Ralph Waldo Emerson

Say That Again, Please?

Sure, Barry made some booboos,
And some of them were beauts.
When Romney pulled that boner,
The party pulled its chutes.
I gather Harding blew it
Inflating Teapot Dome.
When Custer bugled "forward,"
He should have hollered, "Home!"
Reviewing famous figures,
One finds a few who fail.
McGovern ought to promise
"A mop in every pail."

W. H. von Dreele

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vietnamization: Where Now?

JAMES BURNHAM

FOR CAMPAIGN purposes, the President's party points with pride to the "success" of Vietnamization, and the opposition views with alarm its "failure." Let us try to arbitrate these seemingly conflicting claims.

Vietnamization is an amalgam of two goals: that the American troops should get out (Viet-1); that an independent non-Communist South Vietnamese government should stay in (Viet-2).

Viet-1 has not been reached, but performance to date is pretty good as political performances go. From a military force of more than half a million down to 36,000 is an impressive operation at ten thousand miles even if there hadn't been a war on. When you look more closely the reality is not quite so clearly outlined as in the official sketch. There are seventy thousand soldiers and airmen in neighboring countries and tens of thousands of sailors on the neighboring seas, and they are engaged in some fairly rugged combat. To tell the truth, though there may be no "ground combat units" left inside, there are not a few "advisers" who are still much involved in ground combat. But these qualifications only somewhat blur the Big Picture. Like all sensible rulers, the President hedged his promises with prudent ambiguities.

There is no quantitative standard by which to measure progress toward Viet-2. Mr. Nixon claims success because the South Vietnamese army has not collapsed and the Saigon government continues to function. His opponents charge failure because it was only massive U.S. air and naval support that enabled the South Vietnamese army to survive. We must surely grant the opponents at least the negative sense of their argument on this point. Viet-2 is not a success. Success would mean that the Saigon government could stand on its own feet militarily and politically, and defend its own independence without the military support of the U.S. This it demonstrably cannot do. Even *with* massive support, Saigon has lost control of a good deal of territory. Without that support, it would not have survived.

The President's defenders can reply that he never gave an exact date by which Viet-2 would be completed. Granted that, we may then say that though Viet-2 has not succeeded, it has not yet failed. The issue remains in doubt. But how much longer does the President ask before the game is to be considered ended and the referees authorized to chalk up the score? Not much longer, it would seem. Mr. Nixon stated flatly to Stewart Alsop while flying down to Miami: "I'm sure of one thing. The war will be over. The war won't be hanging over us in a second term."

When We Go, Who Remains?

It is within the President's power to determine that the war is over, so far as the U.S. is concerned. He can order the rest of the U.S. troops out of South Vietnam and stop all military operations in the theater. I am inclined to believe that his statement to Alsop means he intends to do just that. Viet-1 will then be fully achieved. What about Viet-2?

Holding the North Vietnamese to a stalemate, more or less, this year (a stalemate, however, inside the South) has been possible because U.S. forces have carried out strategic bombing in North Vietnam, tactical bombing in South Vietnam, and a naval blockade of the northern ports. Without these three operations—in addition to U.S. logistic support and command collaboration—the South Vietnamese would have been overcome.

If the U.S. gets altogether out of the fighting, can't the South Vietnamese take over these three indispensable operations? The answer is that they cannot. They cannot, if for no other reasons, because they do not possess the necessary weapons—the aircraft and naval vessels. In fact, their prospective situation is still worse. Once U.S. air (and naval air) forces are withdrawn, the North Vietnamese will have air domination. We have given the South Vietnamese no supersonic or other advanced aircraft and not much in the way of armor or advanced anti-aircraft weapons. The North Vietnamese have supersonic MiGs and a large array of anti-aircraft guns and missile weapons.

The Pentagon has told the President that the North has taken such a bad beating that it cannot mount another big invasion attempt for "at least two years." But the South has also taken a bad beating. And there is another, fundamental factor that weights the prospective balance further against the South. Although the North has been supplied from the outside, mostly from the Soviet Union, it has done its own fighting. The South has never fought on its own, either before or after the Americans came. The North has nothing to lose to counterbalance the South's loss of U.S. military power.

However you add it up, even discounting the North's stronger political structure, the North will have preponderant power over the South for as far ahead as can be figured, once the U.S. military intervention ends. This means the North will be able to—and will—carry through its undeviating goal of dominating the South, by one formula or another. Why should an undefeated enemy give up his goal? And from the beginning, in accordance with our global policy ruling out offensive actions against Communist-held territory, we have been committed *against* defeating him. As in the past and the present, we can postpone the North's takeover by continuing the U.S. military operations; that is to say, by a failure in Viet-1. Viet-1 and Viet-2 are not two compatible elements of a cohesive policy. They are contraries; to succeed in one you must fail in the other.

Cutting the Knot

My opinion is as it has been, that for reasons personal, domestic and global, Mr. Nixon's commitment to Viet-1, to getting the U.S. out, has priority over his commitment to Viet-2. His statement to Alsop suggests, as I have said, that he may cut the knot of his dilemma fairly soon, get all the Americans out, and settle Viet-2 for almost any formula that does not include an unconcealed "imposing a Communist government on

(Continues on page 1078)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PUBLIC BE DAMNED

How labor uses third-party strikes; why they are counterproductive; how they cause unemployment and what could be done about them if Congress could bring itself to tackle labor reform

What Strikes Do to the Innocent Bystander

ALAN REYNOLDS

WHEN A UNION closes down all the suppliers of a good or service in a community, costs are imposed on people who are not involved in the labor contract. If this neighborhood effect of strikes only created a consumer "inconvenience" there would be ample reason for government intervention—just as there is in the analogous case of air polluters. Areawide strikes, however, do much more than deprive consumers: Serious financial losses are absorbed by wholesalers, retailers, manufacturers and shippers (and their laid-off employees) who are critically dependent on the struck materials or services for their livelihood. No measure of, say, idle man-days due to strikes has any bearing on this vital social cost. In this year's West Coast dock strike, for example, farmers lost a billion dollars in export revenues, and many importers, retailers and freight forwarders lost much or all of their income. Many innocent people were thus forced to pay—in lost revenues and jobs—for someone else's decision to close every port on the West Coast. Moreover, even when such strike-induced "inconvenience" amounts to thousands of lost dollars, the injured parties are not allowed to sue the union for damages.

Why should a union wish to strike all competing businesses simultaneously? Such a strategy obviously creates less—not more—pressure on each employer, since each firm would surely prefer to have his competitors struck too, rather than lose customers to unstruck rivals. Many business representatives have, in fact, openly advocated

the "stabilization" of industrywide bargaining.

If unions nonetheless choose to strike all competing employers in a community, it must be because 1) it creates public pressure for a quick settlement at any cost, and 2) it makes it easier for the employers to pass on exorbitant wage costs in the form of higher prices. The first effect we'll call "blackmail," since the public is held for ransom; the second effect is "cartelization," because hitherto competing firms are transformed into a shared monopoly (with the monopoly rent going to labor) by having the principal element of their costs dictated equally and simultaneously. If each company negotiated separately, it would still have to keep wage-benefit offers competitive, but each firm could not be *sure* of not having its price undercut by a rival employer who drove a harder bargain.

Though third-party blackmail is sometimes nationwide in its impact—as in the transportation industries—the most pervasive effect is the sum of all the shutdowns in all the metropolitan centers. Here are only a few examples of areawide strikes in Greater New York in the past two years:

- Gravediggers struck eight weeks. They left fifteen thousand unburied bodies, and got an 18 per cent pay raise.
- Tugboat workers struck for two months, and got wage and benefit increases of 58.5 per cent over three years.
- Printers struck the three largest newspapers and got a pay boost of almost 42 per cent over three years. (Previous strikes and slowdowns had caused three New York newspapers to go out of business, thus aggravating the cartel effect.)
- Parking attendants struck 650 garages and left a hundred thousand cars stranded behind locked doors.
- Gasoline truck drivers struck six oil companies which handle about 85 per cent of New York's gas. Commuters, taxis, school buses, police cars and ambulances ran short of gas.
- A teamsters local struck thirteen dairy plants which normally supplied four million quarts a day.
- Fuel oil truck drivers in December struck three hundred independent companies, shouting "no heat, no heat!" So, hundreds of thousands of people had no heat in their homes in mid-winter.

Wage Collusion

This sampler purposely lists only small local unions to show that the "nuisance" of multi-firm bargaining is not by any means confined to big unions, nor to public utilities and services, and especially not to manufacturing (of 43 major strikes in New York in the past decade, only five were in

Mr. Reynolds is an associate editor of NR.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

manufacturing). Of course the case against *industry*wide wage collusion is even stronger: This is no different in its effects from colluding to set prices, except that wage collusion raises prices *further*, because wages are so much larger a component of costs than profits.

The blackmail-cartel strategy encompasses hundreds of unionized fields. The basic story remains the same in all communities—only the actors change.

To be sure, none of the above strikes was a "national emergency," but that's little consolation to a New York dockworker unemployed by the tugboat strike, sitting in a cold house with his car locked up and out of gas, his dead wife unburied, and his children left without milk. Multiply this picture by all the cities in the country and you get some idea of the scope of the problem.

We may safely assume that the reason strikes are directed against whole communities, rather than against employers, is that this strategy yields the highest wage gains. Why else would unions pursue a strategy that is clearly less injurious to employers than the single company strike? Where large inventories prevent strikes from hurting the public, e.g., the automobile industry, the alternative technique of striking a single employer is usually used—and the wage gains are rarely as large as in third-party strikes. Moreover, many union mergers and pacts, as well as Jimmy Hoffa's pre-jail efforts to get all unions in each area to have their contracts expire on the same date, can only be understood as efforts to increase wage leverage by blackmailing larger segments of the public.

Jobs and Prices

The conclusion is obvious: Unions that threaten strikes against the public (and the threat alone often suffices) are able to extract unusually high wage gains by holding innocent bystanders for ransom. The first side-effect of this extortion is to increase unemployment among the union's own members. If the companies can pass on the wage costs in higher prices, fewer units will be sold and less labor will be required. If the wage gains are at the expense of profits (which they clearly can't be year after year), surviving firms must restore profitability by using less labor. If featherbedding succeeds in keeping profits low, many firms will not survive in the economy-wide competition for investment funds, so they will be driven out of business—again creating massive unemployment. The unemployment effect of wage increases that are higher than productivity increases (adjusted for inflation) is inescapable: By pursuing apparently suicidal wage demands, a majority of union members, through seniority protection, are able to vote newcomers out of a job.

The unions themselves have often complained of the decline of jobs in unionized trades. If such employment declines were all caused by "automation," why has automation singled out union trades while employment for the economy as a whole continues to grow? From 1900 to 1960, employment in predominantly non-union sectors increased substantially: Wholesale and retail trades employed 5.3 million more persons; non-domestic services added 4.69 million; salaried employment in manufacturing increased by 3.13 million. In the same sixty years, strongly unionized fields did not generate any new jobs at all: Mining employment fell by 270,000; construction employment remained the same; transportation and utilities used 1,620 fewer people; and non-salaried manufacturing added only 120,000 jobs. The astonishing thing is not that we have about 6 per cent unemployed, but that the non-union fields have been able to absorb so many persons who were displaced or excluded from better opportunities by union activities.

Eventually, those unemployed by reason of union tactics will seek work in non-union jobs—thereby driving non-union wages down by increasing the supply of labor in those job markets. Professor H. Gregg Lewis has calculated that the 10 to 15 per cent relative wage advantage of union members as a whole was the result of a 3 to 4 per cent reduction in non-union wages (relative to what those wages would have otherwise been). The average worker's real take-home pay actually *fell* from 1965 to 1970—despite a 53 per cent nominal increase in total employee compensation—partly because an ever-larger *share* of national income was going to employees in the strongest unions (including government unions). The average first-year increases in major collective bargaining agreements were 8.9 per cent from 1965 to 1970, and the percentage rose steadily, while non-union manufacturing wage increases averaged only 5.2 per cent over the same period, and never exceeded 6 per cent. By increasing the share going to relatively skilled employees (who were the highest paid even before unionization), unions have contributed substantially to income inequality.

Non-union workers (almost 78 per cent of the labor force) and members of relatively non-collusive unions (another 12 to 16 per cent) pay three times for the extortion of elitist unions: first, by paying higher prices for union-made goods; second, by having their wages depressed by the flood of workers who are forcibly excluded from union jobs; and third, by paying higher taxes to provide $329 million a year in welfare and food stamps for strikers.

The Options

Government officials typically react to short-run unemployment as though it were caused by anything but union policies. Construction unemployment, for example, declined every year from the 1961 to 1965 average of 12.8 per cent to a 1969 figure of 6 per cent. In 1970, though, when third-party strikes resulted in an average national increase of 14.7 per cent in construction wages, unemployment rose from 6 to 9.7 per cent. Government leaders operate under the delusion that inflation cures unemployment—which it can for only so long as job applicants can be fooled into mistaking an inflated wage offer for a high real wage. The existence of short-run unemployment in union trades therefore creates pressure on the Federal Reserve to restore the balance between labor costs and prices through monetary inflation.

The high wages achieved by the blackmail-cartel technique attract many more workers while ensuring many fewer jobs. These desirable jobs must then be rationed by lengthy apprenticeship, strict seniority, hiring-hall favoritism, high dues, nepotism and discrimination. The inequitable waste of manpower implied by this posting of "no trespassing" signs in many crucial job markets clearly distorts and reduces the economy's total production, and lowers our capacity to grow. Without single-union monopoly of entire trades, such rationing devices could not be so tyrannical. Though some unions of limited scope might still be able to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

extract unemployment-producing wages (e.g., through local licensing and building codes), no *single* union could prevent a man or woman from practicing the trade or his or her choice. Alternatives would exist.

The public is not likely to continue to permit labor disputes to inconvenience consumers, cause losses to innocent parties, and create scarcities of needed jobs. No other organizations can do any one of these things without facing criminal or civil prosecution. Either we must *limit* strike power in some way, or we must allow Congress to stop more and more strikes, on an ad hoc basis, and impose compulsory arbitration. Strike interventions by Congress have been unfair because they have singled out certain industries, unwise because they involved the dangerous principle of government control of incomes, and unsuccessful because they were externally imposed.

If we opt for limiting strikes, rather than eliminating them, there are two general options: Either we set up a regulatory agency with broad powers to restrict the scope of labor-management conflict, or Congress establishes a broad rule which achieves the same result without relying too heavily on the good sense and good will of administrators. In view of the notoriously poor performance of existing regulatory and antitrust agencies, some specific congressional goals are clearly preferable. That is, it is better to set up specific rules and let the courts make exceptions, than to be intimidated by the exceptions into letting the courts grope for specific rules.

Some Illustrations

In the ideal case, unions should be limited to organizing and/or striking single companies. In this way, a large employer would face a large union, and each employer would be more intimidated by a companywide strike than by today's collusive industrywide agreements. Most important, no single union could threaten to close down a whole regional or national industry, which, as we have seen, is a purely antisocial act, unrelated to legitimate bargaining.

Objections to such single-firm negotiations include: 1) the blatantly anti-consumer argument that such arrangements would introduce "unstabilizing competitive factors" into the cozy union-manufacturer collusion to keep new entrants out of certain industries; 2) unsupported charges that pension and insurance benefits would be substantially reduced without industrywide contracts (it seems more likely that a little variety and rivalry in wage-benefit offers would have desirable net effects); and 3) generalization from exceptions where the rule would appear hard to apply.

Construction—with almost a million employers—is an unusual case. Indeed, the Nixon Administration has even suggested that the incredible wage gains in the building trades were *caused* by excessively fragmented bargaining. Where several trades have bargained with an organization of contractors, however (as in the 196-day construction strike in Kansas City in 1970), the gains have been at least as large as in single-employer strikes, and the third-party costs have been greater.

Construction workers are uniquely protected by law against competition through union control of licensing, apprenticeship and building inspection, and through building codes that perpetuate time-wasting techniques. The Davis-Bacon Act, which requires contractors on federally aided projects to pay prevailing union wages, has put a federal floor under the highest wages and has caused local gains to spread to surrounding areas. It is true that switching to single-firm organization would not eliminate government power to punish people for practicing a trade without union permission. Cases of this sort require supplemental legislation (or, rather, de-legislation).

The atypical case of very small employers, as in construction, could be easily dealt with by a provision that a single union could represent, say, no more than two hundred workers *or* all of the employees of a single company.

A related difficulty is illustrated by the case of longshoremen—veteran practitioners of extreme third-party extortion since, at least, the London dock strike in 1889. The problem is that dockworkers now work for many different employers who draw from a hiring hall when their ships are in port. In view of the potential abuses of hiring halls as instruments of favoritism and discrimination we should consider establishing competing halls, or abolishing hiring halls altogether. If shippers could not rely on hiring halls, they would be compelled to offer some contractual guarantee of work to a basic crew, thereby greatly increasing employment security. Then most employees would work for specific employers, and the single-firm principle could be applied. If a group of shippers got together to share employees, the association would be treated by law as a single employer and could be organized as such (the same is true of contractors' associations). Alternatively, a separate limitation on union scope—for example, that no single union would be allowed to organize more than half of any one port's employees—could be established for dockworkers. Even simply restricting unions to single ports would at least prevent Harry Bridges from threatening to close West, East and Gulf Coast ports simultaneously. Again, such exceptional cases in no way justify the status quo, nor do they necessitate compulsory arbitration, nor do they require abandoning the general rule of single-company organization. Even labor problems can be solved; we are not at the mercy of blind forces.

Who's To Blame?

Finally, it may be said that big unions are needed to balance the economic power of big corporations. This is simply incorrect. The private sector unions that are most powerful in terms of third-party or cartel effects are in industries which are typically run by small employers: trucking, shipping, garment, construction, coal, printing, entertainment etc. The manufacturing sector, where most "big" corporations are found, accounts for little more than a quarter of total employment, and wage and price increases in manufacturing have generally been below those of any other sector. Now, the six largest unions represent almost 40 per cent of all union membership. If the six largest corporations employed anything approaching 40 per cent of all union members, then we might have some sort of relevant comparison of labor market concentration, though its significance would remain unclear.

A second point: a company's monopoly power over the sale of its product has nothing to do with its monopoly power in the purchase of labor. A firm that dominates a product market and is thereby able to sell its product at somewhat higher prices cannot therefore purchase labor at a lower wage. Indeed, the exact opposite may

(Continues on page 1077)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEHIND THE MASSACRE

Arabs and Terrorists

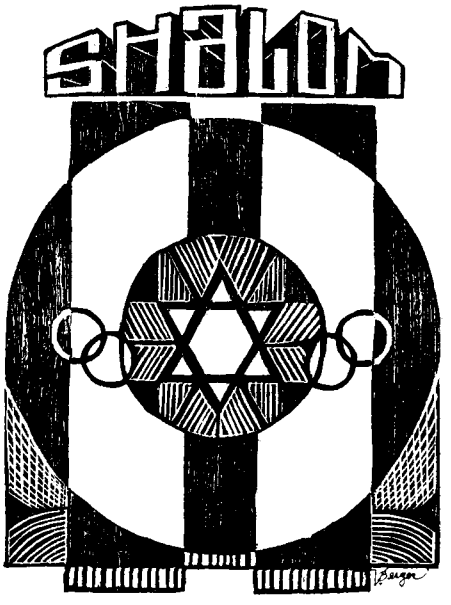
MILES COPELAND

ALMOST AS appalling as the event itself is the way in which the Olympic massacre has distorted the perspectives of observers throughout what President Nixon called "the entire civilized world." Headlines proclaim that "Arabs" killed the Israeli athletes. (Headline in Damascus newspaper, September 1948: "Jews Kill Bernadotte.") Thousands of miles from the scene, various groups in America protest the "deplorable inadequacy of German security precautions"—many of whom were the first to protest our own security precautions surrounding much more vulnerable public gatherings such as national political conventions. (A German diplomat who spent a few days at the Games tells me American and British athletes caught climbing the fences and otherwise circumventing security controls in order to manage nights on the town called German policemen "gestapo pigs.") Commentators whose knowledge of assault operations derives entirely from watching *Mission: Impossible* express indignation at the way the police "bungled" the effort to rescue the hostages.

No less a responsible national figure than Senator McGovern hastened to announce that the United States should not reopen diplomatic relations with Egypt because of her "support to Arab guerrillas"—although, as a presidential candidate, he is entitled to State Department, CIA and Defense Department briefings from which he would learn: 1) that since the departure of the Russians the Egyptian government has begun an all-out effort to round up extremist groups that might sabotage American-Egyptian relations and otherwise perpetuate insecurity in the area; 2) that, all along, the Egyptians have kept the few Palestinians in the country under tight control, and have given support only to Palestinian groups engaged in political and propaganda activity against Arab governments, not Israel.

Even without briefings Senator McGovern should know that the other country with which he says our government should sever relations, Lebanon, has two thousand security police identifying and controlling the potential terrorists who, inevitably, exist among its 250,000 Palestinian refugees. (The Israelis themselves, by the way, admit that Tel Aviv taxicab drivers kill more people than do Palestinian terrorists crossing the border from Lebanon.)

One could go on and on. Suffice it to say that the strength of convictions in this country with respect to what happened in Munich, and who is responsible for it, is in inverse ratio to the degree of familiarity with the circumstances. In the days immediately following the event, when the strongest opinions were expressed, all that a commentator in this country could possibly know was that eleven Israeli athletes



were seized in their quarters, and subsequently killed, by eight persons who identified themselves as "Palestine guerrillas" and who demanded that some hundred-odd Palestinian "prisoners of war" in the hands of the Israelis be released. At that time, the commentators could not know the names of the killers, the sources of their support, or who (if anybody) they represented. Except to those who remain so unsophisticated as to take spokesmen of Arab governments at their word, it was not even known what degree of sympathy (if any) the killers enjoyed at their (presumed) home bases.

Now that the dust has settled, what was the Olympic massacre all about? Here would seem to be the main points, starting with the current situation of the "Palestinian resistance movement" of which the killers claim to be a part.

The so-called "Palestinian resistance movement," it happens, has all but folded. The Jordanian government won its battle with the *fedayin*; other Arab governments have imposed crippling restrictions on them. Administrative leaders of the various Palestinian groups (there are eight main ones, plus countless smaller ones) are squabbling among themselves; intellectual leaders have settled into comfortable university positions where they relieve their outrage by writing articles for scholarly magazines.

There are still as many as a million Palestinians in more or less refugee status, but most of those who have the brains and energy to conduct effective "resistance" operations have found jobs in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Persian Gulf, and the rest have become apathetic. A Palestinian research office in Beirut recently concluded a survey which showed that "92 per cent of the Palestinians still long to return to their homeland" (sample question: "What is the best way to regain the lost homeland?"), but more objective students of the problem agree that, if given a free choice, young and educated Palestinians would like to emigrate to the United States, Canada or Australia, or settle in Lebanon, and that the rest would be happy to move to any country which would give them each a plot of land and leave them alone. In any case, the Palestinian population no longer has the makings of a resistance organization—if it ever had.

But it is a breeding ground, as is any homeless, idle and hungry population, for what we might call "unstructured rebellion"—that is, rebellion against things in general, toward no clear goal. There are perhaps as many as twenty thousand Palestinians who are to one degree or another infected by this feeling of rebellion, who have time on their hands and energies to spare and who are easy pickings for any movement that can structure their passions to some

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

specific end. (I have a theory that even the Israelis, operating through suitable front organizations, could capture their share of these Palestinians; possibly they have.)

Inroads have been made by the Chinese (directly or indirectly), the Soviets, and Arab governments and political groups with objectives in their own countries and in neighboring countries (other than Israel). Their targets are the following, and in this order: 1) "imperialism, capitalism and feudalism wherever it is to be found," 2) King Hussein and Jordanian military and political leaders who are loyal to him, 3) King Feisal of Saudi Arabia and 4) rulers of various Persian Gulf oil sheikhdoms, other Arab leaders whose tenure cause inconvenience to the "people's revolution."—This last category includes, in a constantly changing arrangement of priorities, President Sadat of Egypt, President Qaddafi of Libya and various political figures in Lebanon and other "neutral" Arab countries. There is currently *only one* Palestinian group which has Israel, as such, at the top of its list of priorities.

UNTIL RECENTLY, at least, the principal China-backed Palestinian group has been the "Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine" headed by George Habbash, a Christian doctor who has been a "Marxist-Leninist" since his college days at the American University in Beirut. The PFLP gained considerable notoriety in late 1970 by hijacking a number of airplanes and blowing them up in Cairo and the Jordanian desert—places so ideal from the point of view of embarrassing Egypt and Jordan as to cause widespread suspicion that these two Arab governments, rather than Israel, were the targets. Subsequent attempts to hijack airplanes were less successful. (PFLP members who hijacked a Lufthansa plane to Aden received some $4 million in ransom money from Lufthansa, and, having become millionaires, lost their revolutionary fervor. All George Habbash got out of it, I understand, was a "Dear John" letter and $50,000 or so for the PFLP "campaign fund.") Airplanes have remained a PFLP specialty, however, and latest information on this organization indicates that hijacking will continue, as a spokesman recently put it, "for fund-raising purposes."

At the moment the PFLP is off the air. Shortly after taking credit for the Lod airport massacre, which was actually committed by Japanese Maoists recruited by the PFLP, a number of PFLP leaders received antipersonnel bombs in their mail. These killed Ghassan Khanafani, the organization's deputy leader, blinded Ghassab Abu Sherif, its spokesman, and frightened others into hiding—including the leader himself, Habbash, who had a heart attack and fled to Russia for medical attention.

Next in importance to the PFLP has been the PDFLP, the Popular *Democratic* Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which broke away from the PFLP for obscure doctrinal reasons. The leader of this organization, one Nayef Hawatmeh, is as Maoist as George Habbash, but he apparently receives his inspiration from Peking via Baghdad rather than directly. Judging by his recent movements and the apparent shifts of emphasis in his organization's activities, it seems safe to say that the PDFLP's immediate objective is to form a working alliance with Maoists in the Persian Gulf and, eventually, elsewhere in the Arabian peninsula with a view to overthrowing "feudalist" governments that stand in the way of China gaining access to Arabian oil. (The Chinese are committed to an industrialization program which requires two hundred million-plus tons a year of petroleum, and there are only 35 million tons a year in sight from presently available sources. Thus the Chinese-Soviet competition for Iraq.)

A number of Palestinian organizations, extremist or not extremist depending on the point of view, are tied to the various Arab states: one to Syria, another to Egypt, and another to Libya. Of these, the only one of any immediate importance to Western interests is the so-called "General Command" of Major Ahmed Jibreel which has recently begun to receive subsidies from Libya's Colonel Qaddafi. Originally a pro-Soviet Communist and atheist, the Major has now fallen into step with his benefactor, an ardent anti-Communist Moslem. Colonel Qaddafi (from the safe distance of two thousand miles) is the only Arab chief of state sincerely hawkish toward Israel and willing to devote a considerable portion of his country's resources to support military or paramilitary operations, of any kind, against her.

We have seen little of the "General Command" of late, but it is about to become active. Reliable sources report that its hundred-odd members are clean-cut, athletic young men almost totally devoid of ideology. "We are professionals and proud of it," one of them told a Lebanese newsman, "and we like our jobs." They are well paid, and their training takes place in comfortable quarters and consists of skin diving. Sources who have visited them say that they are preparing for James Bond-type operations into Israel in which they will come ashore from the Mediterranean in such a way as to suggest that they could have taken off from almost anywhere (actually, their base is now in Latakia, Syria). Major Jibreel appears anxious not to give the Israelis cause to launch retaliatory attacks into any one Arab country.

THAT ALL of the above groups are to one degree or another penetrated by the Soviets (who also have well-equipped and well-trained groups all their own) is of no importance, because the Soviets have good reason to want the Palestinians to remain quiet these days—and, in the case of the "General Command," they are reluctant to use their penetration for fear of scaring off Colonel Qaddafi's support. If the Soviets' information on the "General Command" matches that of Western security experts, they undoubtedly believe that more of its members will wind up drowned than will ever land on Israeli beaches.

So we come to the last group of importance: Al Fatah, once more important than all the others put together, and still by far the largest.

The leader of Al Fatah, Yassir Arafat, an intelligent and courageous but grubby little man with all the charisma of a Lebanese taxicab driver, continues to talk a hawkish line, but it is clear from his actions that he has long since given up any hope of regaining Palestine by guerrilla activities and is now concentrating on influencing Arab governments toward Palestinian interests as he sees them. Even this now appears hopeless (all along, those governments have used the Palestinian issue for their own ends), but like his younger members he has nowhere else to go, so he keeps trying.

(Continues on page 1078)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHRISTMAS IN SEPTEMBER

What the Big Givers Are Giving

FERRIS CORK

In corporate offices all over the land, the discussion is in high gear: What to give the good customers for Christmas this year. Venerable scotch again? Another bushel of Florida citrus? More airmailed Kansas steaks or Maine lobsters? Those edible standards are always safe (and certainly more likely to please than a lucite paperweight with the firm's trademark embedded in it, or—one outfit I know of actually sends it out—a suitable-for-framing picture of the company's president and his family). But they're a little *too* standard and safe for the company that wants to show imagination and to be remembered fondly.

Problem is, once you depart from the standard you must find an item (or items) at once out of the ordinary and likely to please everyone or nearly everyone—and for $25 or less, if the firm wants to deduct the whole cost from its income tax. One way is to let the recipient select his own gift: Several mail-order firms catering to corporate givers will send out certificates in various amounts, with a list of the gifts available. Alas, their merchandise is unimaginative and chintzy, strictly on the trading-stamp-catalog level. A better plan would be to give gift certificates from a prestige store—though this will work only if all or almost all the firm's customers are in the same city. Ideally, a firm will not rely on one gift (or two—one for men, one for women) to please several dozen or several hundred individuals of widely differing ages, situations and tastes. Many companies find it worth the extra time and effort (and money) to match each name on the list with one gift from a selection of several. Salesmen and others who have personal contact with recipients can be of tremendous help in this process. A gift that can appropriately be addressed to Mr. *and Mrs.* Soandso is always well-received.

Whether one item or several is being given, the question of appropriateness is important. It's not as simple as it may seem. Obviously, the wise corporate Santa looks for the common ground between company and customers. A wholesaler of sporting goods, for instance, can be fairly certain most of his customers are outdoorsy types who would welcome a rechargeable lantern (also useful around the house) or a pair of battery-operated electric socks. Neither item would be likely to occur to an importer of musical instruments.

Problems arise when the giver imagines common ground where there isn't any. Any number of executives think it's great fun to give slightly, or even definitely, racy gifts—cocktail glasses inscribed "Old Golfers Never Die, They Just Lose Their Balls," that sort of thing. Some people find such things offensive, most dismiss them as simply silly. We have also seen, of late, the rise of the ideological gift. Screaming-eagle "My Country Right or Wrong" plaques and cunning peace doves are equally inappropriate—not so much because they may annoy people of contrary convictions, as because they obviously are meant to gratify the giver rather than the recipient.

Three other pitfalls to watch out for: 1) *Personal items.* There are some things people prefer to select for themselves. It's just not smart to give a man ties or cufflinks, or a woman costume jewelry; if you feel you must give such an item, at least have the kindness not to monogram it, so the recipient can pass it on to an out-of-favor friend or relative next year. 2) *Gadgets.* The silly kind that serve no really useful purpose are at best briefly amusing. Worse, most of them turn out to be 3) *Junk.* A gift, however flashy and shiny, that falls apart before Twelfth Night makes a poor impression. Better to give something elegantly utilitarian that will be used and admired the year around.

Obviously, then, the corporate giver treads a thin line. He knows he can't please everybody; he wants to please as many as possible. He will do best if he keeps his company's gifts useful, simple, and substantial. These three qualities just about guarantee that the gifts will be memorable, and that's what corporate Christmas giving is about.

Happily, the corporate gift giver needn't face his duties unassisted. All the better stores are eager to help—with advice, selections of good gift items, and discounts of 10 to 15 per cent for volume purchasers. This old supershopper has looked over the offerings for 1972, and found some very nice things.

The move a couple of years back from Fifth Avenue to Madison signaled no decline in quality for Georg Jensen. The silver and crystal are still the finest, and the staff of the corporate gift department is helpful as ever. I noticed a handsome crystal sixteen-ounce goblet, as good for beer on the terrace as for icewater at a formal dinner, at $15 the set of four; a well-designed beer mug, surprisingly inexpensive at $9 for four, and a distinctive cube-shaped, battery-operated table lighter for $20. Over the $25 limit but ideal for special customers is the Spectrum Clock, stovepipe-shaped in gleaming aluminum, with a face that changes color as the second hand moves across it ($125), and that rarity, a good-looking ice bucket, this one a giant die in gleaming silver ($150).

Still on Fifth Avenue is Mark Cross, long the best source of fine leather goods in town. One of their biggest sellers is an elegant billfold in a variety of colors, $25 and worth it. The soft-tipped marker pen, popular with everyone from executives to subway-defacers, goes high-class in sterling silver, at $25; shaving kits are a bit conventional for my taste, but Mark Cross has an exceptional one, in very pliable lambskin ($24). Somewhat over the IRS limit but unusually fine is the executive desk set that holds, compactly, a radio, clock, calendar, memo pad and pen ($45); well over the limit but rather fun is a portable safe with key and combination lock plus a loud alarm, all beautifully covered in water-buffalo skin ($250).

As a veteran cigar smoker, I always

As a corporate relations officer, Mr. Cork has supervised Christmas giving for a large electronics firm for several years.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stop in at ALFRED DUNHILL, where they have a whole room of stogies. Many of their gift items are perfectly absurd —from the sterling silver retractable toothpick at $7.50, to the pipe with a gold umbrella over the bowl so one can smoke in the rain ($835). But there are well-made, non-junky smoking accessories—cigar cutters, lighters and such—well under $25; I also liked a boxed assortment of three fine imported teas at $10.50, and a nice snuffbox with six handkerchiefs and six snuff-caps (plus instruction booklet) at $17.50. Over the limit but out of the ordinary is a hefty stag-horn ashtray ($60). There is much, much more; I'm sure anyone in my line of work could find several winning items at Dunhill's.

CARTIER'S used to welcome the crowned heads of Europe; today it caters to large-volume givers with careful, thorough, personalized service. Given an idea of what you want to spend and whom you want to please, they will even select the gifts for you. Don't be put off by that formidable reputation: There are plenty of $25-or-under things to choose from, like a small sterling silver woven basket ($25), a silver miniature of Aladdin's lamp that burns spirit oil ($25), and a line of boxes, rectangular and shell-shaped, enameled in pastel colors, that would look well on a night-table or dressing-table ($12 to $25). There is a good selection of pewter, including a variety of pitchers in early American designs ($16 to $25) and a footed martini cup with plenty of room for engraving ($25); and of china, in which department I saw some refreshingly un-garish hand-painted dessert and salad plates ($15 to $30). Cartier's goodies, along with Mark Cross', Jensen's and those of several other quality shops, are listed together in an elegant catalog by their parent company Kenton.

I found an item at once simple, practical and rather droll at BONWIT TELLER: a silver-plated dog bone, heavy enough to be used as a paperweight, for only $15. Bonwit's also has a handy lamp that will stand up anywhere on its bean-bag base ($40), and a nice-looking set of ceramic mugs, each with an old Italian coat of arms ($25).

ABERCROMBIE & FITCH is another of my favorite stops—an enjoyable place to poke around, and one where the prices don't match the carriage-trade image. They have one of the nicest glass-bottomed pewter tankards I've seen, for $24.50; an excellent line of glassware including queen lace crystal etched with safari scenes ($9); impressive sportsman's books, many below $25, and an endlessly useful "everything bag" of hand-stitched, waterproof canvas ($23.95). For just a little over $25, I found safari scarves, an exclusive with A&F, pure woven silk decorated with a most realistic-looking lion ($30); for way over, Abercrombie's own car, the Runabout, a fire-engine red convertible that looks suspiciously like a Model A Ford ($7,295).

AT TIFFANY'S too, solid-gold reputation combines with surprisingly reasonable prices. The store's Contract Department has been serving corporate buyers for years, with matchless efficiency and such special touches as that elegant pale-blue Tiffany's box, and delivery, in the New York area, by Tiffany's own bonded messenger. Here I came upon a very inexpensive, very nice item: two-deck bridge sets of playing cards, $8 monogrammed in gold, $4 plain. What makes them special is the face cards, done in whimsical designs that Tiffany's introduced in 1879 and revived this year. In sterling silver are a simple bar knife—cuts cheese, spears olives, opens bottles—($18), a three and three-quarter inch high oval-faced picture frame ($19.50), another, rectangular and in a bamboo motif ($14.50), also pillboxes useful for holding all manner of small things: the spool design ($24) and the apple ($12) are especially nice. For survival in the city, Tiffany's has (also in sterling) a holder for quarters and subway tokens ($17.50), a bosun's whistle for summoning taxis ($13.75) and trouser clips for cyclists ($8.50). In the glassware department are alphabet blocks of glass, two-inch cubes for $10 each, and an elegant, perfectly plain decanter, gently curved with a sterling silver ring stopper ($25).

I ought to mention another of Tiffany's services, even though it isn't necessarily applicable to Christmas giving. The store will design and manufacture jewelry incorporating your company's trademark, useful for conventions, promotions and such. Also available is "special order sterling," plaques, plates, bowls and tumblers (the last only $22.50 each) meant to be engraved for commemorative purposes (the engraving is extra on these items; anything else bought at Tiffany's will be engraved free of charge).

HAMMACHER-SCHLEMMER tends to the gadgety—but the quality of manufacture of their merchandise is uniformly excellent; no junk there. Beyond the walk-in, temperature-controlled wine vault ($795), the automatic closet that rotates your clothes before you for selection ($3,500) and the gas-powered train, locomotive and three cars ($11,500), I spotted electric mittens, vinyl-covered with three fixed heats ($12.59), a good stopwatch ($25), a professional magician's kit with which to amaze your friends ($15) and a chess set made of nuts and bolts ($25). (What with Bobby Fischer, by the way, chess sets are going to be a big gift item this year.)

HUNTING WORLD is the house that elephants built—they're especially proud of their elephant-skin items from key-cases ($15) to attaché cases ($495); also elephant-hair jewelry, very popular this year ($5 up). Hunting World takes care to point out that all its elephant skins come from government conservation agencies that crop the herds. Also available are ostrich eggs (five and a half inches long)—plain ones for $15.95; hand-beaded in Zululand for $75; oil-painted for $195 to $295; scrimshaw-engraved $595 to $895. More prosaically, the store has that old favorite, the Swiss army knife ($14.95), a British policeman's whistle for those in need of a taxi or help ($10), leather-backed zebra-skin coasters ($2.50 each), a pair of brass gun-hooks in a stag motif, with the part that holds the gun upholstered in leather ($16.95). Wedgwood Queensware plates with David Shepherd wildlife paintings ($15 each), and a set of six attractive crystal coasters etched with pictures of game birds ($14.95).

YOU SAY you're tired of the same old corporate gifts; you're fed up with the crass impersonality and blatant commercialism of the whole operation? Perhaps you've been doing business with the wrong companies. You're certainly entitled to wonder whether a firm that lumps around until Thanksgiving, then says the hell with it and sends out musical martini-stirrers, is paying proper attention to your needs and desires during the rest of the year. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Marxism: A Human Face?

From the Continent **ERIK V. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN**

MANY PEOPLE are outraged by the latest trials in Czechoslovakia. The men and women in the dock are accused of having engaged in "propaganda hostile to state and society"—after the Prague Spring ended with the occupation by the "friendly" troops of the satellite states, headed by the USSR.

Let us be quite frank: In Austria, in Germany, even in Hungary there were those who watched the agony of Czechoslovakia with a certain amount of gloating, of *Schadenfreude*. Unlike the West, Central Europe at the end of World War I, showed little enthusiasm for "Czechoslovakia" and its political leaders. Many believed that the creation of a new, multination state, which would always have substantial minorities, made no sense and could lead only to disaster. If the principle on which the old Danubian monarchy had rested, the agglomeration of many small ethnic units under one rule, was really so wicked—Austria-Hungary had long been referred to by its enemies as "the prison of nations"—why repeat the experiment? Why subject nearly four million Germans, nearly two million Slovaks, nearly a million Hungarians and Poles, and half a million Ukrainians to rule by seven million Czechs?

As early as 1926, the rector of Breslau University predicted that the totally fragmented area which once had formed the Danubian Empire—Europe's second largest political unit—was bound to fall under the sway of either Moscow or Berlin. As things turned out, it came under the sway of each, in turn. The Germans came in 1938. In order to gain a clear majority the Czechs exiled their German-speaking citizens in 1945, thus giving the Communist Party a large edge in the next elections.

The fatal blindness of many Czechs to the menace of Communism is nicely typified by the views of Edward Benes, one of Czechoslovakia's founding fathers. "Communism stands for the equality of man and of nations," he said in 1939 from exile, in a book called *Democracy Today and Tomorrow*. "It is also humanitarian, universalist, intellectualist and rationalist. It is also pacifistic, internationalist and for the League of Nations policy." This was written *after* the trials of the late Thirties, by a man, moreover, who knew (or should have known) what went on in another Slav country whose language he understood. During World War II Benes openly sought Soviet, rather than Western support.

His mistakes were shared by a number of Czechs. Those now on trial are almost without exception intellectuals—university professors, radio officials, teachers, publishers, party ideologists—and, again, almost all of them members of the Communist Party and convinced Communists. The former director of Radio Prague, Jiri Pelikan, who lives in exile in Rome, has denounced the trials but, at the same time, has professed his continuing belief in Communism; in "Communism with a human face," to be sure, but still Communism.

Such "anti-Soviet Marxists" believe that the "Asian character" of the Russians is (more or less) to blame for the regrettable fact that Soviet Marxism does not have "a human face" and that, therefore, Marxian Socialism was brought to Eastern Europe by an "impure source." Viewed very superficially there could be some validity to this theory, but on closer inspection it proves without substance.

First of all, we have to dispense with the notion that Russia is "Asian" rather than European. It is, of course, true that the Indo-Europeans of old Russia once were under Tartar domination, and that some of the ethnic units in the USSR are of Tartar-Mongol stock; but it is significant that these non-Indo-Europeans are far more anti-Communist than the Russians themselves.

Russian culture and civilization are not fundamentally different from our own. Take the great Russian authors: Tolstoy, Turgenev, Chekov, Dostoyevsky. We understand them just as we can appreciate Russian music—Tchaikovsky, Mussorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Stravinsky. Ivan the Terrible may have been a frightful monarch, but Henry VIII was no saint. Jews were second-class citizens under the Russian emperors, but Catholics in England were in the same boat until 1828.

The trouble does not lie with the Russians, just as the Nazi horrors cannot simply be blamed on "the Germans." The trouble is rooted in the ideology, in the secular religion of Communism. The question is this: Is there something inherent in Marxism-Leninism that is essentially hostile to freedom, that makes tyranny inevitable?

Facile apologists for Communism always trot forward the analogy of Christianity—the Inquisition, Servetus burned by Calvin, Puritans fleeing persecution in England only to hound Quakers in America. Is Christianity, then, to be put on the same level with Marxism? Hardly. The years of intolerance began only in the High Middle Ages, in response to the Albigensian heresy. Christianity had existed for twelve hundred years by then. The fever of intolerance raged for four hundred years, until the eighteenth century; it abated, and Christianity recovered its vision of love and redemption. Communism, by contrast, was cruel, tyrannical and murderous *from the beginning*. Marx's starving family, Bakunin destroyed were merely preludes to the Red Terror and the purge trials.

IN Marxism we have a secular creed, immanent and not transcendent, materialist and deterministic, dictatorial and coercive. One need only compare the *Communist Manifesto* with the Gospels, the writings of Lenin with the Epistles, the memoirs of Trotsky with the Confessions of St. Augustine, the hideousness of Soviet architecture with the Romanesque or Gothic cathedrals. This is another world altogether. According to Marx, man is a mere animal subject to the iron laws of economics, embedded in a dialectic process. Of course, the present trials in Bohemia and Moravia do not make sense even from a logical point of view. Everyone acts as part of a machine—the judges, the jailers, the accused. It is simply a grim travesty entirely in keeping with, and at the same time contradicting, a basically evil philosophy. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RUSSELL KIRK

Salvation by Bus

OF THE several questions at law concerning racial integration in public schools, now in the cognizance of the Supreme Court of these United States, perhaps the most interesting may be found in the "Denver case," *Keyes* v. *School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado*. In Denver, three years ago, a federal district court ordered massive "busing" of students to achieve racial "balance." The case was appealed to the Federal Court of Appeals for the Tenth District, which in part sustained and in part reversed the district court's ruling. The case then was carried by writ of certiorari to the U.S. Supreme Court, which presumably will act on the question before long.

Does the Fourteenth Amendment require the busing of pupils out of one category of schools ("core schools") into a second category of public schools (ordinarily suburban schools)? Is busing the best or only way to achieve equality of educational opportunity—and, in fact, does busing achieve anything of the sort? These and related questions, going to the heart of these complex "busing" and "integration" controversies, are involved in the Denver case.

The state of Indiana, recognizing the gravity of these questions, has filed an amicus curiae brief, supporting the Denver school board, in *Keyes* v. *School District*. Indiana's brief, drawn up by Professor William F. Harvey of Indianapolis Law School, in effect is a protest against the attempt of some federal courts to decree educational policies and to function as if courts were school boards.

This is a case, Professor Harvey remarks to me, "of far greater potential than even *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, in 1954." The Indiana brief raises four questions for the Supreme Court to decide. First, shall the Supreme Court's previous ruling on desegregation be reinterpreted "to render unconstitutional the distinctive achievements among students in public schools which may be shown by standard achievement tests whenever they are administered"? Second, are "adequate data" available for developing a rule of constitutional law regarding equal educational opportunity? Third, when no dual school system exists, and the courts find that there exists no de jure segregation, may a court nevertheless decree compulsory integration and compensatory education? Fourth, may a court so decree if, allegedly, within some school there exists "a denial of an equal opportunity because of lower achievement levels in standard achievement tests"?

In Denver, the district court ordered both busing and compensatory education for Negro and "Hispano" pupils. The court found that there was neither de jure segregation in Denver, nor any attempt to segregate minority pupils through the neighborhood school pattern. Nevertheless, the district court ordered that there be busing and compensatory education as a measure of social reform. The court's attitude is typified by these obiter dicta of the judge, during testimony in the case:

> I mean, psychologically, the school is taking over from the family in many instances. It has to. I know this is abhorrent to all of you. You just disregard it all as paternalism. But you can't. I mean, that is the fact of life. The church has fallen down somewhat. The family has collapsed, and there is not much left. And a kid has to relate to something, to an institution, and to people, doesn't he? Where is the substitute? So, you say there is no psychological foundation for this? There is no foundation in experience? That you can just substitute this competitive atmosphere? And this impersonal competitive atmosphere of the integrated school and let him sink or swim?

Recognizing, then, that in fact the "under-achieving" pupil from a "core" school may be handicapped when transferred to a suburban school with higher standards than those to which such a pupil may have been accustomed, the district court insisted upon *both* busing and compensatory education.

So the state of Indiana becomes interested in what is being done to Denver's school board. "The interest of the amicus is in seeking an interpretation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment," this amicus curiae brief runs, "which will permit a continued development, a continued expansion, and a continued experimentation in educational programs in Indiana. It is a development and educational evolution which recognizes the vast complexities in educational programs in an open and pluralistic state, and also recognizes that within that development and evolution there shall be an equal educational opportunity for all students enrolled in public schools.

"The amicus asks the court not to restrain that development and evolution by a constitutional interpretation which would impose an interdicting rigidity, in the name of the Fourteenth Amendment, in educational theory and practice, as well as in established educational programs."

What the Denver judge seems to demand is not merely equal opportunity in schooling, but equal *performance* by pupils who live in the inner city. And perhaps that is to demand what schools cannot possibly deliver, or what is not in nature. The reasons why children of slums or ghettos or simply low-income neighborhoods perform less well than do children from more helpful backgrounds are complex. One reason surely is cultural: if a child belongs to a family without much interest in learning, without books, then that child's performance in school ordinarily will be unsatisfactory, no matter how far he is bused or even how much "compensatory" drill he receives. Another reason is genetic inheritance, regardless of race: the children of dull parents ordinarily are dull, whatever their color, and all the latest educational gadgets don't change that much.

Does the Fourteenth Amendment really mean that every boy and girl must be made equal in performance to every other boy and girl, by leveling up —or perhaps leveling down? Does it mean that, by public policy, public schools are compelled to assume the functions of church and family? The Supreme Court will find it necessary to answer these inquiries. Unless the Burger Court has become an Academy of Lagado, it will answer in the negative. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

A Child's Guide to the Arabs

MILES COPELAND

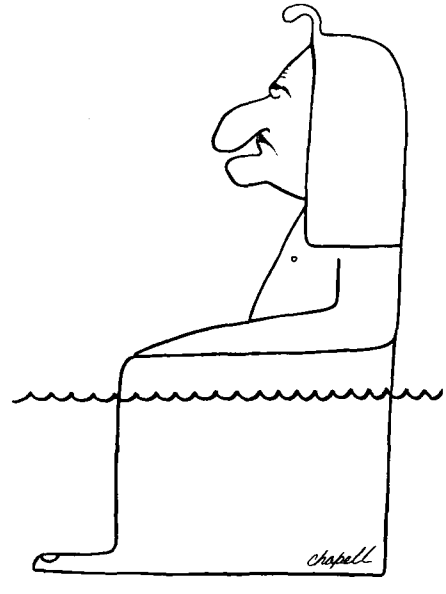
Storm over the Arab World: A People in Revolution
By Eugene Fisher and M. Cherif Bassiouni
Follett, 429 pp., $8.95

The first play to be based on the life of President Nasser appeared last week in Beirut, Lebanon, in a gymnasium-cum-auditorium called "The Theatre of Revolution." It will never reach Broadway; the audience was unenthusiastic—or perhaps just bewildered; there were no cries for "author" (anyway, the author was anonymous); it ran for only three nights and got only one review ("Elegant in its simplicity," said an arty, left-wing French-language weekly). But there was one line which I treasure: "If my people believe all I say," mused the play's Nasser, "they are missing the point."

The author must have known Nasser personally, for Nasser spoke often in these terms of the contradictions in "Arab" public opinion, and of the difficulties they posed for any leader addressing his public. To attain power, the leader of an Arab country must make bigger and better promises than his rivals. Since no one expects him to carry them out (Israel, the CIA or some other outside force can be counted upon to intervene), the sky is the limit. Once in power, he may invent the outside force if it doesn't appear, or he can make substitute promises, or merely forget the old ones. Despite what they are fond of saying of themselves, "Arabs" have amazingly short memories.

But that's not all. The leader of an Arab country must make his promises in terms which the members of his audience *think* they accept, but really don't. He must have the knack of speaking passionately and earnestly in one set of terms, while allowing his audience to understand that they may add up what he says in quite another.

Take Arab nationalism, for example. No leader of an Arab country could attain power, or hold it for long, were he not to manifest fervent support to the notion of Arab unity. But how long would, say, President Sadat of Egypt last were his people *really to believe* that he intends to unite Egypt with other Arab countries? (His colonels may figure some way of annexing Libya before "U-Day" in September 1973, but only an insignificant percentage of his people believe he intends to "unite" Egypt with it.) Or war with Israel. President Sadat must periodically assure his people that Egypt will "never" make peace, and that his armies are poised on the border ready to go. But suppose those youngsters shouting hawkish slogans in Cairo's Liberation Square were to wake up one morning to learn that their President had actually ordered the Egyptian army to cross the Suez Canal, what then? Would they proceed to the nearest recruiting offices, making lines two blocks long like those we saw in American cities after the bombing of Pearl Harbor? Or would they quietly agree with the Egyptian chief of staff who, just after Sadat made a few too-specific threats against Israel, said, "This time the idiot has gone too far!" and remove themselves from the streets?



One could go on and on. The leader of an Arab country attains and holds power by denouncing the United States and praising Russia, yet he spends a fair percentage of his waking hours trying to figure ways of making secret deals with the United States, or with private American interests, showing clearly that he values his deals with the Soviets mainly for what they are worth as leverage in negotiating alternative sources of aid. He pours praise on the Palestinians, addressing them as "our Arab brethren," yet he treats them as foreigners, and second-rate foreigners at that. (The Libyan government allowed some four thousand Palestinians to become Libyan citizens, but has since rescinded the decision, and is currently working out a deportation scheme which will be much less conspicuous than that of Uganda's against its Asian population, but just as thorough.) Most important, the leaders of Arab countries must constantly talk "revolution," yet their various "Revolutionary Command Councils" talk and think in terms which would have been considered reactionary in the days of the Ottoman Empire.

So how does a young diplomat or international businessman prepare himself for an assignment in the so-called "Arab world"? What does he read? Visit the State Department library, or any of the libraries of the international corporations, and you will find more

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

books on the Arab world than on any other geographical area. There are hoary books by scholars of the area itself, whose relevance to what is going on there is what books on astrology are to astronomy. There are books by American and British academics who learned what they know by reading books by other academics. And there are a few books by genuine area experts such as Malcolm Kerr, Patrick Seale and Morroe Berger, but these presuppose such familiarity with the so-called "standard" works that they are of only limited use to a beginner. "What I need," a newly appointed ambassador to an Arab capital once told me, "is a book which sets out all the information and misinformation in an orderly way so that I can at least learn what to *talk* to people about."

SUCH A BOOK now exists. Written in beautiful grade-school English at about the four-legs-good-two-legs-bad level of intellect, it is a complete and logically organized catalog of all there is to say, true and false, about the Arab world. Its range of content is as wide as its authors are naïve and superficial. There are eight chapters of historical background, then one chapter each (a total of twelve) for the principal Arab countries, and a chapter each for the area's outstanding problems and important events of recent history—the Suez affair, the Arab-Israel wars, oil, the problem of water. Finally, there are two chapters of conclusions, the first of which summons all the current clichés in support of the argument that there *is* such a thing as an "Arab revolution," and the second of which is an essay on how the United States is now "engaged in a fierce campaign to block this revolutionary principle in any region where its current conception of political or economic national interest seems to be threatened." The authors are Eugene M. Fisher, who has apparently spent a bit of time in the area and who has tremendous enthusiasm for it, and M. Cherif Bassiouni, a professor of law at De Paul University who was born in Egypt but left it before the events which he and his partner have written about. They are relatively uncontaminated by any first-hand knowledge of their subject. Their *Storm over the Arab World* is truly a valuable book, the ingenuousness of its authors and their lack of familiarity with what there really is of an "Arab revolution" enhancing its over-all merit rather than detracting from it. □

In the Next Issue

David Brudnoy will conduct a guided tour through the maze of books offered to the election-year public.

August 1914
By Alexander Solzhenitsyn
Farrar, 622 pp., $10

THE SWEEP OF GREATNESS

FRANCIS RUSSELL

At least half a century seems to have to elapse for a writer to emerge who can recreate an era in its perdurable dimensions, particularly if that era is one of war. It took that amount of time after Napoleon's Russian debacle for Tolstoy to produce his great panorama of the period. As distant from World War I as Tolstoy was from the Napoleonic war, Alexander Solzhenitsyn has launched his reconstruction of that later era with *August 1914*, a book he describes as a fascicle of a work in many parts that will occupy him for the next twenty years and that he does not expect to live to finish.

INEVITABLY, to the point of cliché, the comparison will be with *War and Peace*. Yet, if it is possible to see through the fogs of contemporary judgment, even judging only by this fascicle, what Solzhenitsyn is engaged in creating *is* the Tolstoyan epic of the First World War. He himself is conscious of this inheritance—in fact the aged Tolstoy makes a brief appearance in one of the preliminary chapters—yet he has no false modesty about his talent which, like Tolstoy, he sees as God-given. His other books were born out of his bitter conflict with an authoritarian regime. But in *August 1914* he has reverted to a theme beyond himself, one he admits has haunted him since he first conceived of it 35 years earlier: the picture of what life really was in Russia on the brink of 1914, what truly happened in the first month of the first war.

Solzhenitsyn's father was an officer in the First World War, he an artillery captain in the Second. Above all his book is an act of piety. What his father and his country experienced in that cataclysm, he has devoted all his talent and strength of emotion to rescuing from oblivion or from the deliberate falsification of those who would have us believe that the true history of Russia began only when it became the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. And what an astonishing achievement is this fascicle, the more in that the source materials taken for granted in the West were so often denied the author. He writes of those early battles as if he had been a participant, as if he had really seen them through the eyes of his alter ego, his general staff colonel Vorotyntsev. How many survivors must he have talked to over the years, how much must he have absorbed from his father's experiences!

The dominant theme of *August 1914* is the sorrily planned, hastily and poorly prepared Russian invasion of East Prussia and the annihilating defeat of Samsonov's Second Army at Tannenberg. Samsonov's defeat is the more ironic in that Rennenkamp's First Army stood by and let it happen. If, in spite of all the deficiencies of the Russian Army, Rennenkamp had supported Samsonov in the planned pincer movement, the Russians by their sheer mass would have overwhelmed the Germans—a fact Ludendorff later admitted in his memoirs. Solzhenitsyn has managed to capture the essential tragedy of those days, leading up to the not-unworthy Samsonov's suicide. At staff and army level he makes clear all the whys and wherefores, with acid portraits of court favorites, time-servers, sycophants and bunglers. Then

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RANDOM NOTES

■ JUST OUT: If you're afraid you're getting fleeced every time you have your car serviced, *The Great American Auto Robbery* by Donald A. Randall and Arthur P. Glickman will a) confirm your fears and b) shorten the odds against you (Charterhouse, $6.95). . . . Senator Proxmire poses as a guardian of the federal purse in *Uncle Sam—The Last of the Bigtime Spenders* (Simon & Schuster, $6.95). . . . Ernest van den Haag expands some articles he did for *NR* in *Political Violence and Civil Disobedience* (Harper, $7.50; paper, $1.75). . . . Edward Powers and James Witt take us *Traveling Weatherwise in the U.S.A.* (Dodd, Mead, $7.95). . . . *The Making of the American Republic: The Great Documents, 1774-1789* is a big compendium edited by Charles Callan Tansill (Arlington, $15). . . . Rev. Harvey K. Griffith compiles *The New World Idea Index to the Holy Bible* (World, $14.95).

■ OCTOBER TITLES: *Hemingway and Jake* is a memoir by Vernon (Jake) Klimo with Will Oursler, and tells of the former's early years as a sidekick of the novelist (Doubleday, $7.95). . . . Volume V of Harold Macmillan's memoirs, *Along the Way*, spans 1959-61 (Harper, $15). From the same house, a giant paperback reprint of John A. Kouwenhoven's picture-book classic, *Columbia Historical Portrait of New York* ($6.95). . . . Walt W. Rostow's *The Diffusion of Power* surveys the last fifteen years. . . . Canadian professor Geoffrey S. Smith studies the fringes of the American Right in the Thirties in *To Save a Nation* (Basic, $10). . . . *The National Police Gazette* is a collection of turn-of-the-century shockers edited by Gene Smith, with an introduction by Tom Wolfe (Simon & Schuster, $9.95). . . . John Philip Cohane flays American foreign policy in and out of Vietnam yet calls his book *White Papers of an Outraged Conservative* (Bobbs, $10). . . . Alfred Steinberg's *The Bosses* is a rogues' gallery peopled with the likes of Hague, Crump, Curley and Pendergast (Macmillan, $7.95).

■ NOVEMBER GIFT BOOKS: Holt hopes to duplicate the lavish Robert Kimball/Brendan Gill treatment of *Cole* with another about *Tallulah* ($25). . . . Louis Aragon's *Henri Matisse* is part life, part sumptuous two-volume art book (Harcourt, $75, boxed). . . . *Edwin Way Teale's Photographs of Nature* displays over three hundred examples (Dodd, Mead, $17.50). . . . *Albrecht Dürer* is an illustrated life by Heinz Ludecke (Putnam, $16.95). . . . *The Eddie Condon Scrapbook of Jazz* has photos, articles, memorabilia and a foreword by John Steinbeck (St. Martin's, $17.50).

on the level of the common soldier there is the harsh reality of the barren heat-struck landscape through which the Second Army advances to the frontier, the to-the-Russians astonishing neatness and order of the German farms and villages, the brooding forests and lakes of East Prussia that echo like a folk song, the great sweep of advancing armies and the broken patterns of retreat.

I DO NOT think anyone who has not been in actual battle could have written of combat as he has done, and here again the parallel is with Tolstoy who could never have written of Borodino without the insight derived from his own experiences in the Crimean War. The war is there in all its immediacy and intimations of actuality; the terror, the futility, the animal cruelty, the essential madness of men settling their differences by killing one another, all balanced by the obverse elementals Solzhenitsyn understands so well; loyalty, comradeship, courage, love of one's homeland, and that singular exultation, that joy of battle, that sometimes comes to men in combat and that no civilian can ever understand.

It is harder to judge the civilian interludes, intuitive and sensitive to the old regime as they often are, because they are part of the larger unrevealed pattern. Yet in the very opening paragraphs, where a young man journeys across the Caucasus on his way to join the army, one feels the vastness of the panorama, one senses that one is entering a book that goes beyond the vagaries of literature into life.

Two years ago in Leningrad I sat with a group of students, temporary guides to an historical congress, talking about Solzhenitsyn. They knew of his other books, but *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* was the only one they had been able to read. One of them asked me if I thought Solzhenitsyn repudiated the October Revolution. Somewhat hesitantly I said that I did. They seemed undisturbed. The repudiation is more specific in *August 1914*. From that date, October 1917 followed. Yet in Solzhenitsyn's view there was no Marxian inevitability about either event. Both were rather aberrations of history. And so they remain to the unclouded eye. As Solzhenitsyn explained in his noble Lenten Letter to the Patriarch in Moscow this past spring: "In the final analysis the true and profound destiny of our country will depend on whether the idea of the rightness of power shall be irrevocably implanted in the people's consciousness or whether that darkening eclipse shall be cleansed and the power of righteousness radiate once again."

That, I think, is the implicit message of this book, a great book by a great-souled writer. □

Fire in the Lake: The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam
By Frances FitzGerald
Little, Brown, 491 pp., $12.50

THE NEW ANTI-VIETNAM BIBLE

DAVID BRUDNOY

The Vietnam war, James Burnham told us in these pages a few months back, is over, lost. God knows, we all wish it were over. It has been a dreadful affair, frustrating to our leaders and people; the end of life for hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese and 50,000 Americans, and many more thousands wounded; corrosive to this country, as to Vietnam. Although the war is not the only cause, it is one of two most visible excuses—the other being the presence of a huge population of unassimilated Negroes—for the unparalleled division of the United States in this century, divisive to young, to old, to all parties and philosophies.

We come at last to its "winding down," that is, to America's pull-out of troops, though not, most likely, to its real end in Vietnam. Americans will soon be gone from that land, as embittered by our failure to achieve a clear-cut, typically "American" victory, as ever we have been, and ignorant, by and large, of the country in which we've expended so many lives, so much money, and such a vast reserve of our determination. When we have departed, our non-Communist friends in the South may prevail or they may succumb. A vast slaughter of non-Com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

munists may ensue, dwarfing the hideous murders by the Reds in the 1968 Tet offensive and in Binhdinh Province this August.

But when we are disengaged from Vietnam physically, Vietnam will not be gone from America, nor will America be gone from Vietnam. One need not condemn the real reasons for America's presence in that country and our involvement in her conflict to recognize that the United States has altered Vietnam and Vietnam has, at least for some years to come, significantly altered us. Nor, when we are physically gone from Vietnam, will we be able to stop reading about it; we will have before us such cleverly written and emphatically pessimistic accounts as the newest, by Frances FitzGerald.

THERE has been to this point no book on recent Vietnam with the power and conviction of *Fire in the Lake*. Compared to Miss FitzGerald's prodigious effort, all previous studies, of whatever persuasion, pale into insignificance. After analyzing the traditional Vietnamese mind, the monistic Vietnamese society, and the nature of Vietnamese history, she proceeds to elaborate an interpretation of Vietnam and the American effort there that will become gospel for the antiwar movement. The sheer weight of Miss FitzGerald's documentation and the undeniable effectiveness of her remarkably persuasive style cannot but commend her book to those who've told us all along that our cause in Vietnam was and is hopeless.

Considerably amplified and glossed, my last paragraph represents the framework of much that will be written about this book and this war henceforth. When *Fire in the Lake* appears in paperback it will be required reading in colleges across the land; when one debates Vietnam, the antiwar side will quote Miss FitzGerald chapter and verse. We will be urged to believe these Revealed Truths: 1) Vietnam has traditionally held to a single way of life, and will in the future; 2) the way, the *Tao*, imposed by the French, was improper and but temporary; 3) that of Diem, Nhu, Ky, Thieu et al., was likewise improper, and unspeakably corrupt, as well; 4) the Way offered by the Communists is in accord with tradition and history in Vietnam; 5) Americans have never understood Vietnam and never will; 6) America has brought nought but devastation and horror to Vietnam; 7) America's agents are, if occasionally well-meaning, nonetheless invariably duped by their clients, the aforementioned contemptible South Vietnamese leaders; 8) Communist "atrocities" are vastly overstressed in anti-Communist propaganda, and in any case are not the determined policy of the North Vietnamese or of the NLF. We will, in sum, be offered all the old snake oil smoothly bottled anew by Miss FitzGerald.

Many will swallow her prescription; many others will wonder quite legitimately why no one has yet put forth as persuasive a case for the other side. The inevitability of it all—the inevitability of South Vietnam's salvation when the "corruption [read: Thieuism] gives way to the discipline of the revolutionary community [read: the *Tao* of the NLF]"—will be trumpeted with renewed fervor by those who "know" that we are wrong and have been wrong all along. Although Miss FitzGerald acknowledges several important differences between northerners and southerners, she concludes both that the South could not prevail against the North and, paradoxically, that the South will go the way of the North, albeit perhaps in somewhat modified fashion. Those who accept Miss FitzGerald's thesis will feel comfort in the heavy-handed reversal of roles implicit in much of the antiwar movement's stridency. As an "underground" newspaper in Boston headlined an edition some time ago: "Enemy Bombs Hanoi." The enemy is the United States. And so it goes.

For too long, many of those who have defended America's involvement in this war have thought they could do so only by ludicrously sanctifying our friends in the South Vietnamese government. The most effective parts of *Fire in the Lake* are those documenting the error of that approach; to her credit, Miss FitzGerald puts the lie to those myths, leaving their defenders gasping for air. By misunderstanding the purpose of America's involvement, by saying, for instance, that we are there to bring "democracy" to that land, the supporters of this mismanaged venture have severely weakened their own case.

MISS FITZGERALD shows us our tarnished South Vietnamese "heroes," rather viciously "exposes" our American ignoramuses in Washington and Saigon, and creates her own North Vietnamese and NLF patriots. She gives short shrift to the notion that the Vietnam war is a theater in the general conflict. She limns the struggle in clear configurations with most striking colors, confining that picture to Southeast Asia. If one accepts her premises, as listed above, one is, perforce, obliged quite seriously to entertain her conclusions. But it is precisely the partial inaccuracy of her general premise, and the omissions from her picture—she categorically denies, for instance, the domino theory any soupçon of legitimacy—that make her book at once such a fabulous statement of her *Weltansicht* and such a suspect evaluation of the world as it is.

Miss FitzGerald only occasionally gives vent to blatantly rhetorical overkill, like this: "It was a white man's war being fought by blacks, a rich man's war being fought by the poor, an old

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man's war being fought by the young." Generally she writes with the controlled fire of one whose Inner Light is hot, yet tempered by the cool ice of Reason and Fact. She writes: "The Vietnamese survived the invasions of the Mongol hordes, and they may similarly survive the American War." Indeed they may, if by "survive" is meant fall to Communist domination, a result desired neither by America's leaders nor by the overwhelming mass of our citizens, but almost surely in the cards owing to the muddled way in which the former have managed, and the ignorant way the latter have been led by Communists and their dupes and minions, to see this war.

THE delusions of American idealism led first Wilson, then Roosevelt, and finally Kennedy-Johnson-Nixon, to grasp for more than could be reached, to preach sermons when lessons in power politics were called for, to misread America's wish as America's capability. By continuing the Vietnam war and simultaneously slavering after the Soviets and the Red Chinese; by failing to connect the Vietnam war with the general struggle against Communism—and none has been more guilty of this than Mr. Nixon, with his grotesque kowtows to Peking and Moscow, the real enemies in this conflict; Miss Fitz-Gerald observes this explicitly—we have validated Frank Meyer's insight, published in this journal on February 22, 1966: "[Whatever] be our objective, nothing less than a clear statement that we see it as part of the broader war with Communism and that we are prepared to take all steps necessary to achieve it—whatever the Chinese *or* the Russians do—can lift the Vietnam war from its present obscurity and confusion." That statement has never come forth. Until it does, and I see little chance of that happening, we can expect scant improvement either in our position in the world or in the level of sophistication of Americans trying to make sense out of a seemingly senseless war in a mysterious land on the back side of the globe. □

Miles Copeland, *author of the very controversial* The Game of Nations, *has spent much of his working life in the Middle East, in various governmental posts and as a consultant for international corporations. . . .* **Francis Russell** *has just completed two new historical books, one on Germany, the other on American President-makers. . . .* **David Brudnoy** *is Associate Professor of American and Asian History at Merrimack College. . . .* **James J. Kirschke**, *a severely wounded Vietnam veteran, is completing his Ph.D. in English at Temple University.*

365 Days
By Ronald J. Glasser
Bantam, 245 pp., $1.50

VIGNETTES FROM VIETNAM

JAMES J. KIRSCHKE

Three hundred sixty-five days is the length of a normal Army tour of duty in Vietnam. Ronald Glasser was an Army doctor, stationed at a base hospital in Zama, Japan during 1968-69. He has spoken to many of the wounded and dying soldiers passing through the hospital on their way back to the States, and he writes about their experiences on the battlefield and in the hospital. Besides a sensitive Foreword, there are seventeen vignettes and a sensible "Glossary of Military and Medical Terms" (covering most of the jargon that might cause confusion for the layman).

Those vignettes dealing with combat action are worked up in a fashion similar to that used by Stephen Crane in writing *The Red Badge of Courage*. Like Crane (to whose memory the book is dedicated), Glasser has not experienced first-hand the war he has written about. But, whereas *The Red Badge of Courage* is a novel, published a full thirty years following the end of the Civil War, *365 Days* treats a war which is still very much with us (the book was originally published in hard cover by George Braziller in 1971). Moreover, Glasser's book represents a series of "impressions," rather than either conventional fiction or straight reportage.

While the stories in *365 Days* are certainly compelling, one tends to remain somewhat skeptical, for in all cases Glasser has changed names, and in cases of combat situations, has omitted or changed the dates of the actions described, of their locations and of the units involved. Some incidents in *365 Days* of course require no specific documentation. That the Vietcong and NVA, for instance, have frequently attacked field hospitals is (or should be) known by all, and needs no additional support. But some other incidents related in the book appear to deserve closer scrutiny. For example, one story describes volunteer two-men ambush teams, which operate outside their unit's perimeter after dark, bearing as weapons only "a knife or a bayonet—and maybe a bicycle chain." Is one to accept the details of this story as true? Did any such ambush team make the kind of contacts described within the vignette? And was Glasser's informant relating his own experience from an ambush team, or incidents told to him by a buddy?

Similar questions occur with regard to other specific vignettes. One must reach for the salt again, after considering the tale of a Special Forces lieutenant who went all the way to Haiphong and back again (on foot), and who was wounded (though not captured) in a futile attempt to rescue a colonel, shot down and held prisoner in the North.

Nevertheless, there are many worthwhile things in this book. The portrayal of land-mine warfare, for instance, is chillingly effective. The descriptions of close air support and of emergency helicopter evacuations are more accurate than any this reviewer has seen. Glasser possesses an excellent ear for conversation and uses this ability, on occasion, to inject some macabre humor into the narrative. A helicopter pilot describing his third trip into a hot landing zone, for example: "I took the wounded out with me and I swear to God I clipped the same trees going out. . . . The third time they got us, killed my door gunner and co-pilot. But dammit, they sure as hell had enough practice."

But Glasser is a doctor and is at his best when describing the hospital scenes and the medical emergencies with which the book is filled. Here his experience has obviously been very intense, and he communicates his controlled emotions in these scenes with great power. Needless to say, *365 Days* is not to be read by the squeamish. The narrative often shocks one in a manner not dissimilar to the more spectacular canvasses by Goya.

One finds surprisingly little passive suffering in a book which shows so

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many being maimed and killed. For example, the story of "Robert Kurt" seems altogether believable. A few weeks after being rather seriously wounded, Kurt was out jogging to build up his endurance sufficiently to allow him to return to the war zone, and had to be urged aboard the plane to the States by his surgeon. Glasser's final vignette seems a particularly poignant one. It deals with the burn cases—perhaps the most difficult kinds of injuries to treat—and is entitled "I Don't Want To Go Home Alone." No one who reads it will forget it, and it provides a fitting climax.

In brief, *365 Days* represents a series of, for the most part, brilliant "impressions" of the Vietnam war. Although some of these vignettes seem difficult to accept in their entirety, to read this book is to get a fairly balanced and relatively clear—if painful—glimpse of what is was like to have fought and to have been seriously wounded in combat action in Vietnam. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

NONE DARE CALL IT CONSPIRACY, *by Gary Allen (Concord Press, 141 pp., $1).* Mr. Allen has revived the old Marxist line about the United States being neither a republic nor a free economy, but a political and economic system dominated by industrial monopolists and Wall Street financiers. In patching together several heretofore separate conspiracy theories, Allen doesn't shrink from praising the Populists, citing the left-wing notions of Kolko and Galbraith, and ranting against "champagne and caviar" and "summer mansions at Newport." Communism is, after all, only "an arm of a bigger conspiracy to control the world by power-mad billionaires," says Allen, and "the international bankers have an enforcer arm within Russia to keep the Soviet leaders in line." Allen feigns concern that the Federal Reserve System was established with the help of prominent bankers rather than, say, prominent plumbers. The Fed supposedly influences the size of the national debt (don't ask how) so that bankers can buy more low-interest government bonds, and the Fed creates depressions so that "sharpies" can, for example, buy Dusenberg stock cheap in 1930. In Chart Seven, Allen connects the Council on Foreign Relations with everything but the men's room at Grand Central Station. Famous people *are* invited to become members of the CFR (i.e., send money), but these men would be just as influential without membership in the CFR. Allen's appetite for connections slides him into the Illuminati of 1776, the Jacobins, the Bolsheviks and the international bankers. Professor Carroll Quigley's "Round Table Group," which is supposedly the main authority for Allen's fantasies, was *not* in fact connected with the Warburgs, Schiffs and Rothschilds; was not wealthy enough to aid the Bolsheviks; was *not* in favor of world government but rather a British-American nationalism; and did *not* continue to have any significant influence after 1940. On page thirteen, Allen thoroughly distorts a passage from Quigley which, in the original, was highly critical of recent (non-conspiratorial) tendencies toward regimentation. (Says Quigley: "I did not say what Allen pretends that I did. . . . Allen repeatedly distorts my book and my ideas.") Alas, in the fever swamps Mr. Allen inhabits none dare call it bullshit.

A. REYNOLDS

THE ELECTRIC MIRROR: *Politics in an Age of Television, by Sig Mickelson (Dodd, Mead, 304 pp., $8.95).* Dwight Eisenhower's advisers wanted to bill him, in 1952, as "The Man Who Will Bring Us Peace"; Ike wouldn't let them because, he said, he couldn't *guarantee* peace. . . . TV viewers felt Kennedy won the first 1960 debate; "radio viewers" (as the author calls them) gave the victory to Nixon. . . . The ejection of NBC's John Chancellor from the floor of the 1964 GOP Convention was a perfectly "good-natured" affair—not, as it was then widely portrayed, an assault by fascist goons. . . . There are more inside goodies, but the currants are few and far between in this great dough-y book (not so the typographical errors). The author, former president of CBS News, has managed to make the coming together of television and politics pretty dull reading. His book is infused with the miracle-of-television attitude we used to find in *Popular Mechanix*. Agnew is, natch, a bad guy. Dumb photographs.

C. H. SIMONDS

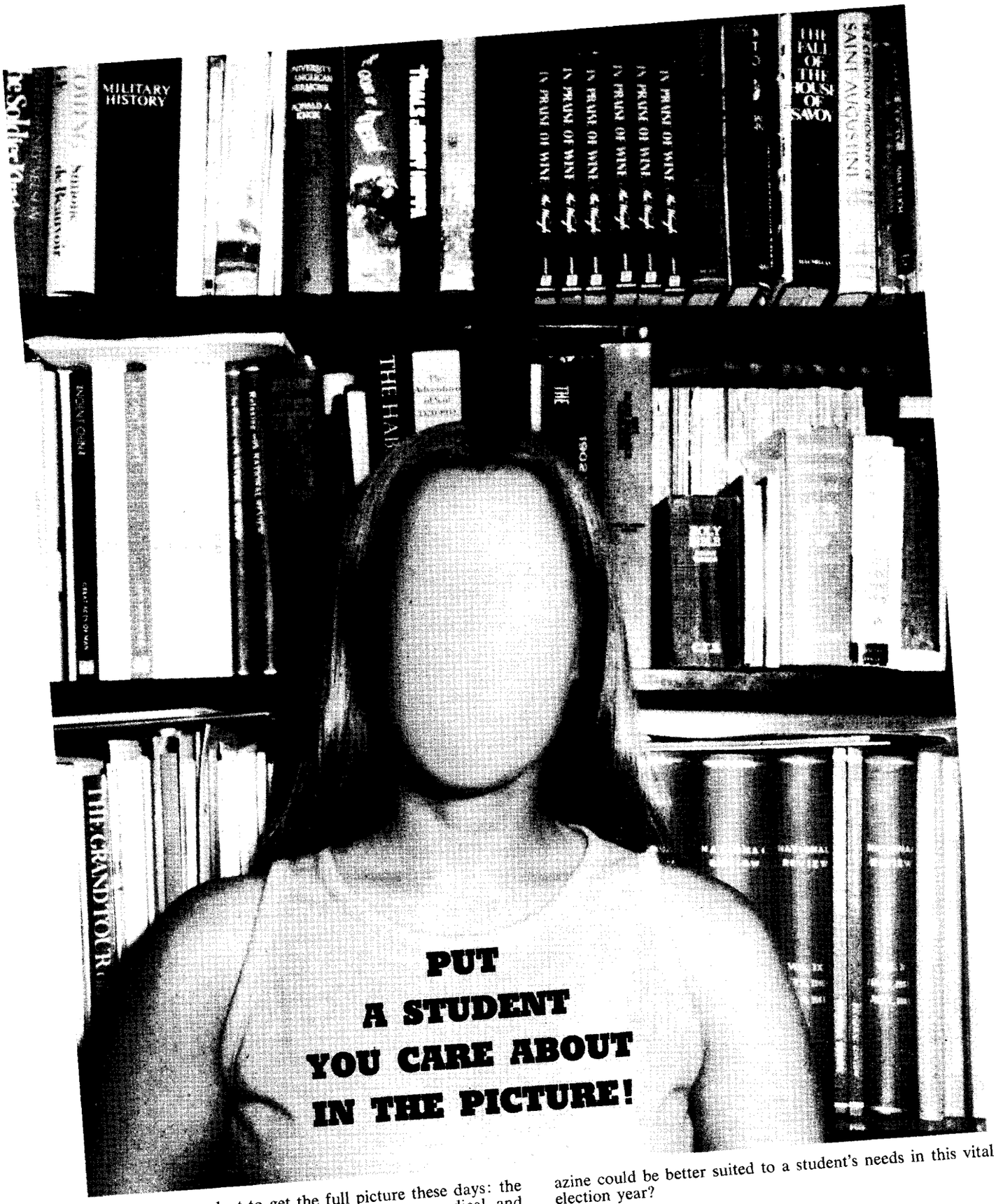
TURNIP GREENS AND SERGEANT STRIPES, *by Martin Grimes (Arlington, 272 pp., $7.95).* In Walker County which is only "a couple of axle greasin's from Birmingham it was easy as hell to be born," says Martin Grimes, "but rough as a cob to grow up." In Walker County the cheapest wedding, of course, was the shotgun wedding, "as it is customary in the South for the gal's paw to furnish the gun, buy the license, and pay the preacher: and you damn shore didn't need a honeymoon. Be like singing 'Shall We Gather at the River' after you've already been baptized." At a poker game one time, Little Joe, Martin Grimes' grandpaw shot the deacon. "Since Little Joe was usin' dum-dum bullets, the ole deacon up and became dead instantly." Little Joe didn't want to attend the inquest but "grandmaw picked up a fence post and talked Little Joe into moseyin' over to the community poach [where the inquest was being held]. When the coroner counted the cards there was 62 and the extras were all aces, which under Alabama law made it justifiable homicide. Folks in Bradleytown kinda considered the ole deacon committed suicide." About the time Martin Grimes was almost grown Dec. 7, 1941 came along and he joined the United States Army. He retired from it, 22 years later, as a First Sergeant "after two world wars and a heap of misunderstandings." *Turnip Greens and Sergeant Stripes* is one of the most rollicking, entertaining bits of American humor and tall tale-ism to come my way in years. Ribald, crude, witty—Rabelaisian in parts—and not for the prudish, good Lord preserve us. For instance, Sgt. Grimes devotes one chapter to the patriotic hoes (whores) who flocked to Phenix City, Ala., and Columbus, Ga., in '43 and '44 to do their bit for the boys at Fort Benning. Sgt. Grimes tells you how the Pacific war was *really* fought, and what *really* went on when the U.S. Army occupied Japan, both stories loosely under the heading, What Ole Mac Didn't Know. *Turnip Greens* is the nearest thing to Huck Finn—one hundred years later—you're ever likely to find.

P. L. BUCKLEY

SEXUAL MYTHS AND FALLACIES, *by James Leslie McCary (Van Nostrand, 206 pp., $6.95).* Periodically, a book about sex comes along that the Johnny Carsons of America turn into a best-seller, regardless of the book's merits. Such was the fate of David Rubin's *Everything You Always Wanted To Know about Sex* (et cetera ad nauseum et ad hilarium), a compendium of truths, half-truths, falsehoods, incredibly naïve fallacies and juvenile humor. It made a mint. The pity is that Houston psychologist McCary's excellent new book follows Dr. Rubin's, because *Sexual Myths and Fallacies*, although infinitely superior to *Everything You Always . . .* , will most likely be ignored. Dr. McCary has taken seventy common misconceptions—of course you and I would never believe them, but there are, perhaps, some among our friends who do—and in straight layman's prose, spiced occasionally by wry wit, demolished them. Except for Professor McCary's treatment of abortion, which he sees entirely as a medical and psychological matter, ignoring the other aspects, the book is remarkably balanced, judicious and thoughtful. At a time when the alternatives *seem* to be Everything's Wicked or Anything Goes, *Sexual Myths and Fallacies* is a welcome addition to the literature on sex.

D. J. C. BRUDNOY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



It's hard for a student to get the full picture these days: the influences at college still run from liberal to radical and there isn't much to choose from in the news media either. How do you prepare the student you know to face the scholastic and political rigors of academic life? We think we've got the answer. *Give National Review to the students you care about.* Not only does NR present a refreshing counterpoint to all the liberal and leftist pressure, but it is also an invaluable study aid—ideal for classroom discussions. Each issue of NR is filled with the kind of information a student should know and can use: commentary on domestic politics and trends, dispatches from global trouble spots, plus columns by Wm. F. Buckley Jr. and more! What magazine could be better suited to a student's needs in this vital election year?

How to order a student subscription.

To give *National Review* to a student you know, just fill out the information on the card opposite this page, and remember to list the student's college address (if it isn't known yet, send it to us later). We'll see to it that the subscription is entered right away and announce your gift via a handsome card. And you'll be taking advantage of NR's special student rate: just $5.95 for 18 issues! (from late September to early June)! Mail the card today!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Arts & Manners

The GIMLET EYE

D. KEITH MANO

Joe Papp and His Children

It's got a mini-tenement silhouette: TV antennas, clotheslines ruling off the twilight. Six diamonds' worth of softballers hit the lob pitch just beyond it, their outfields dangerously intermeshed. Set and seating are utilitarian, collapsible as your pocket umbrella. Inevitable rostra, one complex staircase, a few flats painted with economical abstractions—germ cells perhaps at the delicious moment of mitosis. "New York Shakespeare Festival Mobile Theatre presents *Ti-Jean and His Brothers*. Scene: an island in the West Indies." The island's power slithers in burly cables from a headless tractor trailer. It seems one of those midnight mushroom circuses that pop up on small-town Saturday nights, gone next morning in time to beat the blue laws. Damned chilly for August; and I think the sky may want me to review an ingenue thundersquall instead. Yet already two hundred people wait seated on Van Cortlandt Park mall, a queue of picnickers. The Mobile Theatre is cold tonight, but free.

Free: fancy that. Producer Joseph Papp's manner has been evenly strident through the years; his politics give a galvanic shock to the right side molar fillings. But you need that kind of drive and tone in New York City. The man had to fight. After long hesitation and stupid, obstructionist tactics, the Hon. Mayor Lindsay's predecessors affixed their Hon. names to a Joe Papp program, sudden patrons of the arts. His 1972 score: free mobile theater, free Shakespeare at the Delacorte in Central Park, three award-winning plays, two on Broadway, one at the Public Theatre. Back awhile, Charles Gordone's *No Place To Be Somebody*, an extraordinary play, the blacks' *Iceman Cometh*. Papp's productions err, when they err, invariably on the side of excitement, of chances taken. He has made the rich, prestigious Stratford Connecticut Shakespeare Festival seem what it is, fat cat pompous and dull.

The play is ideal: half folk fable, half revue. Free public theater must surprise, surprise. The audience enforces this: many children, adults with limited theater experience. More than five minutes of dialogue and an electric restlessness—folding chair crepitations, whispers—rises from the pit. Then, quickly, a song, a dance, some slapstick business, an extravagant costume. *Ti-Jean* can entertain any level of sophistication. There is a frog-bird-cricket chorus, plus walk-ons for a goat, trees, an embryo—enough monsters to decorate someone's fifteenth-century map of the world. For the more reflective: sharp racial byplay, primitive poetry, symbols. It's visual of necessity. God's acoustics are lousy; 747s make their own exegesis of the text. Even with the lavalier mikes, sound fades in and out—it's like trying to get Channel 11 on the rabbit ears.

The cast is black and good. With one exception, very good. This has been thematic in Papp's approach: make work for the black actor. Blacks, if need be, in Verona, in Dunsinane, in the Forest of Arden. Ten years ago when I was working a bit Off-Off Broadway, the word was: there aren't any good black actors. The talented ones—James Earl Jones, Brock Peters and . . . and who?—the talented ones have more jobs than they can handle. It seemed true: most black actors, I thought then, would never break the pronunciation barrier. But times have changed. Demand evidently has primed supply: three fine actresses in *Ti-Jean* make professional debuts there. A tribute to Papp and to just a few other dedicated New York producers.

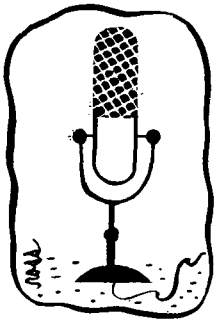
But Derek Walcott's melodrama is plywood, with oak grain contact paper stuck on. It has two invaluable assets 1) the folk fable genre. Three brothers go off to defeat the devil. "And then the youngest set out. . . ." The youngest, of course, succeeds: typical Grimm's fairy tale machinery with some African animal wisdom conventions added. But it does lend a false quality of the archetypical, the allegorical—to what is, after all, simplistic and rather repetitive. 2) The West Indian accents. In *Ti-Jean* diction elevates poetry, hyping the words with a specious lushness, a between-syllable music. Walcott will write, "Pray for me, the sun is in the leaves," or "the blind jaws of the grave." These are fairly standard for the play. Yet with the gorgeous lilt of diction, words become semisung, sensuous—and only on reflection do they appear commonplace. The Irish have a similar way of singing beauty into triteness. This tells you something about the Irish or the West Indians . . . I'm not sure which.

The play's slight humor is cranked by hand from antique devices. Lyrical idiom, West Indian singing: then an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

abrupt New York colloquialism, a topical reference, an occasional sharp obscenity. Very efficient, but in *Ti-Jean* it jars the natural tone rather cynically, makes "the sun is in the leaves" seem a prop, a stylistic banana peel. At the last, for instance, Satan does a stand-up monologue. He mentions his fall, his contrition, "Once I was a son of light—" then whiplashes the mood with, "Well, a job's a job." Another venerable stage trick, you remember it from the senior varsity show: postulate a mythic figure—god, devil, saint—and force feed bathetic, human lines into his dialogue.

Satan, incidentally, is the neighborhood white planter: at least during one incarnation. This suggests something of the subtlety coefficient in *Ti-Jean*. Satan makes a bargain, what else? Anyone who can irritate him, make him weep—this is, cause a human emotion or two—will become rich. Those who fail, die. This produces an awfully melodramatic coda, one that needs the bells of *Night on Bald Mountain* clanging behind it. Jesus is called in: without much advance notice. He hasn't exactly been a prevalent influence to that moment. Mother love triumphs in death; the embryo gives birth to itself stage center; Satan jerks a few tears. The audience begins to chortle embarrassment, but the dignity, the sheer competence of the performers — notably Satan (Albert Laveau) — commands quick silence, forebearance. Then a song and a dance, where everyone—actor, audience, playwright—is on comfortable ground.



Ti-Jean fizzles, but one can't very well ask for a refund. The production is full scale and excellent: Walcott could hardly complain, his play has been given more than a fair mounting. Two dozen good actors get their showcase. And Joseph Papp continues—more here, less there—to enrich the city. □

Jean Jeffries *is a college instructor and freelance writer. . . .* **Eugene & John Meyer** *are both chess masters. Eugene participated in WNET-TV's commentary on the Fischer-Spassky match.*

TELEVISION

JEAN JEFFRIES

Bending the Twig

When CBS News unveiled its Saturday morning *In the News* series last fall, producer Joel Heller explained: "Our modern communications have made kids aware of President Nixon's coming trip to Communist China, the new economic policy, and continuing troubles in Northern Ireland, not to mention Apollo missions or the World Series. With *In the News*, we'll be giving young people specific information to help them further understand what they have been hearing." Mr. Heller added that when children who watch the series "hear Walter Cronkite or their parents mention Chou En-lai or the New Hampshire primary, they'll have a much better idea of what is going on inside the news."

THE two-and-a-half-minute *In the News* programs have been appearing every Saturday for over seven months now, reaching an audience of as many as 23 million youngsters between the ages of six and eleven. Has the series lived up to its billing?

In many cases, I would judge, the answer is yes. These brief programs are especially good at explaining the origin and meaning of such terms as *strike* and *boycott*, for instance, and this is precisely the kind of additional information a kid needs to interpret what he hears on adult news shows. But when it comes to giving background information on controversial people and events, *In the News* is, I think, a failure, what a literary reviewer might call an "interesting failure."

The problem is that old gremlin, liberal bias. We know by now the effect which that particular bias has in adult news programming. Its effect in a backgrounder series for children is very peculiar indeed: It produces not a broadening, but a narrowing, of perspective; instead of telling the young viewer more than he could have learned by watching Walter Cronkite, it often tells him *less*.

Take the program on Ted Kennedy. After pointing out that the Senator is the brother of the slain President and Attorney General, the CBS narrator said that Ted Kennedy might have been a presidential candidate this year "if it hadn't been for a tragic event in his "explained." In 1969 a car the Senator own life." Chappaquiddick was then was driving ran off a bridge, "a passenger" was killed, and afterward "many people said it was his fault." And that's it, my friends. No mention of the discrepancies in Kennedy's account of the incident; no mention of the long delay in reporting the accident to the police.

So if your kid thinks Ted's not running because he's not a good enough driver, blame CBS. Where else could he have gotten such a screwball idea?

In the News has also taken a liking to some controversial female activists. The Saturday after Bernadette Devlin punched up Reginald Maudling, the program described her as "a tiny, 24-year-old girl" who had been called "the voice of the ordinary people of Northern Ireland." This laudatory description may well have been confusing to a six-year-old who had been told that slapping one's peers is naughty. Angela Davis was the subject of an *In the News* piece just after she was released on bail. In terms of Edith Efron's kind of analysis, CBS devoted 41 words to the reason Miss Davis is on trial and 130 to her contention that she is a political prisoner. Sample: "She's said all along that she's innocent, the victim of a system of justice that has *no* justice for people who are different, and Angela Davis is very different—she's black, a woman and a member of the Communist Party."

THE *In the News* segment on education in China began: "What a nation teaches its children tells a lot about what it thinks is important." So far, so good. But just what do the Chinese teach their children that the Americans, say, do not? If you were to ask Chou En-lai himself, he might answer by pointing to the button on his jacket: Serve the People. Society comes first in Maoland, the individual is nowhere. Surely this is what China "teaches its children"; this is what its government "thinks is important." Not, however, according to *In the News*. Instead, the script proceeded down a narrow side-road—the young revolutionary Mao Tse-tung dreamed of teaching every Chinese child to read, and today the purpose of a Maoist education is "to build a strong China."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sometimes the background information given by *In the News* is downright wrong. In its segment on Pete McCloskey the narrator mentioned the 1968 New Hampshire primary and then said quite matter-of-factly, "Senator McCarthy *won* that election."

Where are you, George Orwell, now that we need you? □

SPORT

EUGENE & JOHN MEYER

Fischer Beats the System

When Bobby Fischer beat Boris Spassky it was merely the capper. He had already beaten the Russians at their own game, and compiled a record unparalleled since the brief career of the only other American champion, Paul Morphy, at the very dawn of modern chess in the mid-nineteenth century. In the challenge matches that led up to the battle with Spassky, he stunned the chess world by sweeping his encounter with Taimanov of Russia 6-0, a feat heretofore considered impossible in competition between grandmasters, and followed with another 6-0 sweep against the brilliant Bent Larsen of Denmark.

In the final match of the challenge round, Fischer faced former world champion Tigran Petrosian, a master of defense renowned for his indestructibility. Petrosian had worn down his two previous opponents by drawing game after game until their patience cracked. The Fischer-Petrosian match between the irresistible force and the immovable object seemed to hang in the balance for a time but, with the score 2½-2½, Fischer settled all doubts by winning four games in a row to crush Petrosian 6½-2½.

On the eve of the Match of the Century, then, Fischer's victory and the end of Russian supremacy seemed well nigh certain. Before play began, Fischer, long known for his temperament, started the fireworks. His most spectacular previous ruckus had been in 1965 when he walked out of an Interzonal match even though he was leading, after a dispute with the organizer. Now he demanded a larger purse, and received nearly universal condemnation for delaying the start of the match.

Indisputably Fischer was often unreasonable, but his demands were also often exaggerated and sensationalized. For example, a request to have the hotel swimming pool cleared for him a half hour before each game was turned into a demand for exclusive use of the pool for the whole period of the match. Nor has Fischer been judged by the same standard as other temperamental and eccentric stars like Richie Allen, Joe Namath, or, in another performing field, Tallulah Bankhead. His motives were more than mere greed or petulance. It rankled that boxers fight for millions of dollars, sports stars sign six-figure contracts, golfers play for fat purses, but chess players get only crumbs. He has won his point.

When the match was rescued by that philanthropic (and chessplaying) British millionaire, Bobby proceeded to evoke memories of Mark Spitz in the 1968 Olympics. He lost the first game on a blunder no good chess player ever should have made. The forfeit of the second game in the wrangle over the presence of television cameras again put the match in doubt; Fischer had never before accepted a forfeit. The camera point won, however, he relieved the tension and resumed play, behind 2-0.

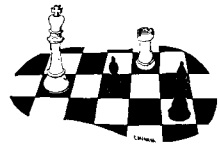
The Fischer of legend now turned on full force. He played originally in the opening of the third game, catching Spassky off balance and pressing inexorably to victory. In the fourth game Spassky retaliated, but Bobby turned his talents to a superb defense and held the champion to a draw. This exciting game, even more than the third, was the turning point of the match. Spassky had done his best but could not get the win. He had the advantage in several later games, but the wins eluded him. Only once did he bring it off, but too late, when Fischer already had his formidable three-game lead.

THROUGHOUT the fifth game Fischer kept the pressure on until Spassky blundered decisively. In the sixth game he crushed him completely. In the next few games he swept into the three-point lead which Spassky, even with improved play in the second half of the match, could not erode.

One of Fischer's great strengths throughout the match was the pragmatism and adaptability of his play. He had always opened P-K4 with the white pieces, but in this match, after the fourth game, he set all the Russian preparations at naught by playing other openings. He had always been known as the man who never played for draws, yet in the latter stages of the match he protected his three-point lead by getting seven draws in a row before the final win.

In winning the championship, Bobby defeated not only Spassky and the battery of Russians behind him, but also the other Russians who have so dominated world chess for decades. His triumph was the victory of an eccentric individual over a system. Fischer made it on his own from an early age, while chess in the Soviet Union is not merely a national but a nationalized sport, with all the good players trained from childhood and subsidized by the state.

But it's "only a game," after all—or is it? When Taimanov lost 6-0 to Fischer, the Soviet government took away his car and other perquisites (they were restored when Larsen suffered the same ignominous setback). Long before this championship match was over, the comrades began to try to save face. One tack they took, ironically, was the projection of a "nice guys finish last" syndrome. When in memory have the *Soviets* wanted to be liked instead of feared or respected? (This is not to detract from Spassky as an individual—he is a bracing exception to the dour Communist mold of such former champions as Botvinnik and Petrosian.) Another ploy, provoking cosmic mirth, was the electronic-chemical warfare charge.



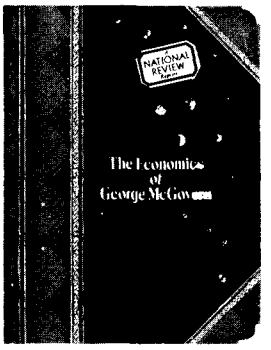
One wonders why the Russians felt moved to make such excuses. Perhaps it is the uneasy realization that the Communist system does not leave inspiration room to develop. They had already found surprising evidence of this in their own chess competitions when their young Moscow players, trained by the Soviet chess elite, began losing to players from the hinterland who had far less instruction. It is interesting to speculate whether a Russian Fischer would ever had been able to develop his full potential, or whether the whole form of chess teaching in the Soviet Union would have stunted him.

Perhaps such doubts explain the Soviet panic. Fischer not only beat the Russians at their national sport but he underlined a weakness in their system while doing it. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

McGovern's Economics

This pamphlet tells you where McGovern really *stands on taxation, welfare reform, defense spending—and how his proposals would affect you!*



This article is must reading for all conservatives (and any sensible **voters,** for that matter) during this vital presidential year. In "The Economics of George McGovern"—NR's block-busting expose now available in handsome pamphlet format—you will learn the full details of McGovern's incredible program which would:

- decimate defense spending
- impose a restrictive tax on incomes over $50,000 (regardless of exemptions!)
- apply a 20% tax surcharge
- institute farm supports that would send consumer prices soaring
- dry up the sources of investment capital via a huge corporate tax increase

Here is your source for the **facts you should know** about McGovern's economics, and a way to make some sense from his often contradictory and confusing statements. This is a must read article! "The Economics of George McGovern" is perfect for discussions, students, political clubs, and the more copies you order, the more you save!

Big Discounts Available

Using this price schedule, your cost-per-copy drops sharply on large orders:

Single copies	50¢ each
3 copies	$ 1.00
100 copies	$20.00

(bulk rates on request)

NATIONAL REVIEW REPRINT
150 East 35th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

I enclose ..... for .... copies of "The Economics of George McGovern"

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

Please enclose payment with order. Thank you!

(Continued from page 1045)

Ethnic Voters

I take strong exception to certain observations contained in Richard Jensen's review of recent books on ethnic politics ["Books," Aug. 18].

He states: "Slavic voters remain confirmed liberal Democrats. Ed Muskie is their kind of candidate, not George Wallace, and they did vote for Muskie in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania when no one else cared to."

Mr. Jensen has failed to do his homework. In point of fact the vast body of Polish-Americans did *not* vote for Ed Muskie. They *did* vote for George Wallace.

For example, in western Pennsylvania, with its heavy concentration of Polish-American voters, Muskie did extremely badly, winning only a single borough, Glassport, and then only by a narrow margin over George Wallace. In other mill towns, Wallace beat Muskie decisively. In the city of Pittsburgh, Muskie only carried a single ward, the sixth, and again by a narrow margin over Wallace. In other heavily ethnic Pittsburgh wards, Wallace beat Muskie by lopsided margins. And in the Polish heartland of Milwaukee, McGovern defeated Muskie decisively.

My analysis of the ethnic vote showed clearly that the great body of Polish-Americans were repelled by Muskie's leftward drift and repudiated him at the polls. I can trace Muskie's decline among the ethnics to his flirtation with the radical Left, notably his appearance with the May Day crowd which tried to disrupt Washington in 1971.

I predict that ethnics will make the difference in November in such pivotal states as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Ohio and Illinois—for Nixon.

Silver Spring, Md. THEODORE L. HUMES

Richard Jensen's comment anent "the typical apathetic pattern of all twentieth-century immigrant groups in their early days in America" toward voting misses the essential point that an immigrant who has thrown aside his roots is apt to see little wrong or in need of change. If he thinks at all of the strident discontents of the liberals, it is to wish that they would swap places with his relatives still in line at the immigration desks.

Jensen is dead-wrong in describing the Slavs as liberal Democrats. Democrats they are, but a barkeep in a Slav neighborhood could tell you that liberals they are not, fiscally or sociologically. Like the earlier white ethnics they have banded with the party of minorities in reaction to the simple xenophobia of the natural majority.

Mighty emphasis has been put on the Irish Catholic following of a Kennedy or a Buckley (not *all* Buckleys and, hopefully, not all Kennedys). Little has been said of the Republican acceptance of Mr. Agnew. Maybe the immigrants regard it as a sign that the American dream has validity for Republicans too.

Philadelphia, Pa. JOHN A. MCMENAMIN

Not in the Bag

I was disturbed by your editorial "McGovern III: Backing Off" ["The Week," July 21]. The writer corrected W. H. von Dreele's line, "He's [McGovern's] got Tom Wicker *in the bag.*" However, he did *not* correct another von Dreele line, "We all agree he's got the kids."

Young people *are not* necessarily McGovern supporters. Recently, I conversed with a friend who doesn't like Nixon, but will support him because his only other choice is McGovern. He seems to think that many young liberals like himself will be quiet during the campaign, but will go to the polls and vote for the President.

I would also like to refer to a recent poll taken on campus by the Vanderbilt College Republican Club. The poll found that 49 per cent of Vanderbilt's students supported the President, while only 26 per cent supported the South Dakota Senator.

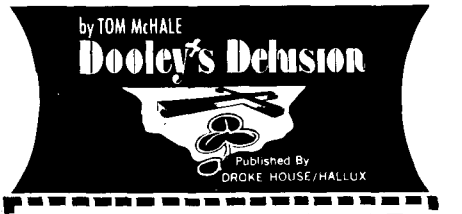
Even if one gave McGovern all of the undecided vote (plus 7 per cent from minor candidates), he would defeat Nixon by only 2 per cent on one of the nation's more liberal college campuses.

Nashville, Tenn. WILLIAM B. LACY

When Irish Catholics fought the good fight with Protestants — and themselves.

When the devout could peacefully hear a Latin high mass without loud disturbance by mini-skirted nuns shrieking raucous rock music to jarring guitar accompaniment.

This book brings back the days when "His Rivrence" ruled the roost.



DOOLEY'S G.H.Q. Section R
2001 Bryan Tower — Suite 330
Dallas, Texas 75201

$4.95

Please send____Copies at $4.95 each. Payment enclosed ☐

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

National Review Magazine

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

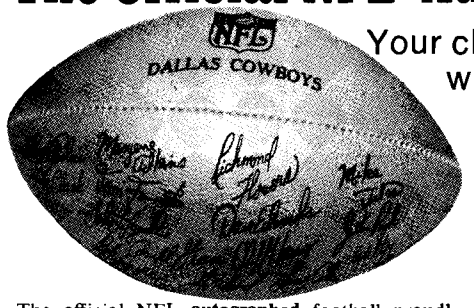
be closer to the truth, since unions tap any excess profits. A union's monopoly power in the sale of labor could only be said to "balance" an employer's power of exclusive employment—a power that simply does not exist.

Actually, the whole idea of "bargaining power" is misleading at best. Size has very little to do with the ability of firms or unions to affect prices and wages. What matters is the ability to eliminate, or to control the price of, substitutes for labor and/or products. Large firms and unions may have more financial resources which enable them to endure long strikes, but the strike is not thus rendered less painful. Small firms and unions can, moreover, achieve the same result by borrowing or combining contributions to a strike-insurance pool, as is now done among trucking firms, to provide financial aid to struck members.

Employers, no matter how big, have no labor market power remotely comparable to that of unions. They are simply intermediaries between labor costs and the prices charged to consumers. Employers certainly can't pay less than the going rate for comparable labor without losing all their best workers to competing firms. A power in product markets comparable to union power in labor markets could only be said to exist if all of the producers in an industry got together and said: "We are going to stop production for as long as necessary until we get a 20 per cent price increase, and we will picket and boycott anyone who tries to hire our laid-off workers."

Most criticism of unions has been misdirected at the alleged inflationary impact of big unions, and at the impact of nationwide strikes. This traditional view neglects the social cost of striking all competing firms in a community, and the resulting effect on employment opportunities and income distribution. Moreover, the crude "solution" of compulsory arbitration is only a patchwork treatment of the most conspicuous symptoms, and is an approach which threatens the freedom of contract. By establishing, instead, a paradigmatic goal of single-company unionization, enforced through the Justice Department, we could preserve the right of employees to strike against their own employer, while preventing certain unions from using injury to the public as a bargaining device. □

The Official NFL "Autograph" Football



Your choice of all 26 NFL teams—with the players' signatures!

Be a hero to some kid . . . or display it with your trophies.

Order #49360. Only $6.95 ppd.

Order #49560. Special! Football plus kick-off tee. Use it for kicking, or as an ideal display. Great gift idea! **Only $7.95 complete, postpaid.**

SPECIFY NFL TEAM NAME.

(N.Y. residents add sales tax.)
Send check or money order.

The official NFL **autographed** football proudly bears the name of your favorite team plus the official NFL emblem, and is imprinted with individual facsimile signatures of that team's members. You'll want to give it to a youngster or keep it in a prominent spot in your trophy room, den, or office—for all your football-minded friends to admire.

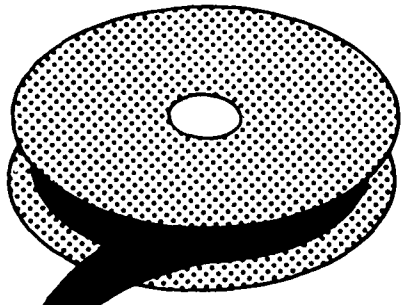
Official size, official weight ball is of rugged simulated pigskin that has the leathery grain, feel, and heft of a real pro ball. Perfect for limbering up your passing arm, whenever you're in the mood.

Comes inflated, but has inflating needle in package, so you can always pump it up to official pressure, no matter how many years you have it around.

THE EVERYTHING GUARANTEE

The GALLERY guarantees EVERYTHING: The quality, accuracy of description, availability, prompt delivery. If not delighted, return football **within 3 weeks after you receive it** (not the usual 10 days) for an instant refund of purchase price.

finer things by mail from The GALLERY
Dept. 4985, Amsterdam, N.Y. 12010



Greatest Advance Since the Typewriter was Invented! No More Smeary Erasing—Covers Mistakes Instantly, Permanently!

SELF-CORRECTING TYPEWRITER RIBBON!

Most exciting, needed advance since the typewriter was invented! As of this moment, every messy, smudgy, smeary typewriter eraser in the world hits the scrap heap for good. No more erasing—ever! Bottom half of miracle ribbon is like a magic wand that makes errors disappear before your eyes. To make corrections, just back space, shift ribbon selector and retype error. Presto! White ink makes error completely invisible. Order extra ribbons for friends. This is one gift they'll love you for! No CODs.

MAIL ORDER MART, Dept. 14
2701 Sterlington Road, Suite 132
Monroe, Louisiana 71201

Please send me the quantity of ribbons checked below. If not satisfied, I will return ribbons within 10 days for full refund.

☐ 1 ribbon $3.50 ☐ 2 ribbons $6.00

Brand Name of Typewriter—Check Model Below
☐ Standard ☐ Electric ☐ Portable

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BURNHAM

(Continued from page 1056)

South Vietnam." What else can he do? About the only thing left militarily is to obliterate Hanoi and Haiphong, but this is excluded by domestic and global opinion, and quite possibly wouldn't change anything much anyway. You can't go on forever with this heavy intervention; it becomes absurd, and there are other things besides Vietnam in the world that you have to pay attention to.

I see no way out of this conclusion. And if it is true, it follows that in spite of all the fireworks, there is no strategic difference between the President and Senator McGovern on the Vietnam issue. The difference is tactical only, a question of methods and timing—and probably less of these than McGovern would have us suppose, as he would discover if he were the one carrying out the complex final withdrawal and wind-up instead of merely talking about them. □

COPELAND

(Continued from page 1061)

Arafat can remain a figure of substance in the Arab world, and continue to gain *some* support and assistance for his followers, so long as he keeps Al Fatah together. He will pay almost any price to achieve this. He will even go so far as to tolerate, if not support outright, the group known as "The Black September Society" which grew out of Al Fatah and which has been responsible for some of the more outrageous acts of terror attributed to "the Arabs"—including, in all probability, the Olympic massacre. This group, whose operations are exactly the opposite of the sort of which Arafat approves, consists of semieducated angry young men who are too anti-intellectual to associate themselves with "Marxist-Leninists" such as the PFLP and too anti-conservative to abide by the disciplines of Al Fatah—which continues to feed and clothe them. Arafat has lost many of his younger members to the PFLP and other extremist groups; he now fears that many more will go the way of "Black September." His present policy toward them, therefore, is one of appeasement.

But even this may not work for long. "Black September" now appears to be getting outside aid, of a sort which is unmistakably Chinese. Like the PFLP, this group operates on false passports rather better than could be produced by back-street Lebanese forgers, and international movements of its members clearly have the aid of some larger agency with access to diplomatic channels of communication—or, at least, channels which are just as sophisticated and effective. This is all we know about this organization at present (true names of its members are just beginning to show up in security files), but all the evidence points to one conclusion: Israel has little to fear from it, because it is not geared to "commando" operations against the country itself. Instead, it will attack Israeli targets abroad—persons, offices, installations, airplanes, ships and, more probably, targets of "imperialist, capitalist forces" which support Israel.

Like PFLP members, "Black September" members are too young to remember Palestine as "home." Their war is the war of the Black Panthers, the Tupamaros, the Irish Republican Army, the Japanese Red Guard. Israel is but their "assigned segment" in the worldwide front.

Or so, on the basis of evidence to date, it appears. Let us hope that the Germans make available to us what information they get out of those Munich terrorists who are still alive. One is tempted to wish that the terrorists were in the hands of Egyptian interrogators, rather than Germans whose sensitivities over their past (including memories of the *last* Olympics held in their country) contributed to getting them into this trouble in the first place. □

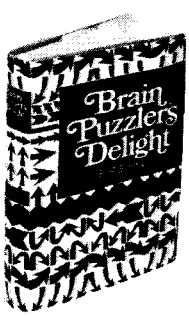
You might want to know cancer's seven warning signals. So if you spot one, you'll get the message.

And the message is this—see your doctor. Fast. These are the signals to watch for:
1. Unusual bleeding or discharge. **2.** A lump or thickening in the breast or elsewhere. **3.** A sore that does not heal. **4.** Change in bowel or bladder habits. **5.** Hoarseness or cough. **6.** Indigestion or difficulty in swallowing. **7.** Change in the size or color of a wart or mole.
If you see one of these signals for more than two weeks, remember the message: see your doctor.

american cancer society

THIS SPACE CONTRIBUTED BY THE PUBLISHER

Brain Puzzler's Delight



By E. R. Emmet

A treasury of unique mind-stretching puzzles that can be solved by straight, logical thinking and reasoning. No specialized math. Offers the pleasures of discovering solutions through use of ingenuity, imagination, insight, and logic. Stimulates and refreshes the mind. Fascinating, entertaining puzzles, arranged in order of difficulty, with (some amazing!) solutions and full explanations at end of book. ILLUSTRATED $5.95, *plus* 30¢ handling

Order Now! **10-Day Money-Back Guarantee**

EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 343X.
251 West 19 Street, New York, N.Y. 10011

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Your book can be published, promoted, distributed by successful, reliable company. Fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly, scientific and even controversial manuscripts welcomed. For Free Booklet write Vantage Press, Dept. NR, 516 W. 34 St., New York, N. Y. 10001.

HOW WELL WE SERVE YOU depends largely on whether you include your address label when you write us about your subscription. Please attach it to **all** correspondence. When moving, please give us 5 weeks notice, and paste your **old** address label here. Print new address below, including your ZIP code. (The ZIP code has become all-important, as all names must be filed—and mailed—by that number.)

READERS' SERVICE

You may use this form to subscribe, renew, change your address—or for any other correspondence you may have with us. If you attach your mailing label at right, you will have helped us be both speedy and accurate.

REMEMBER

that Magazine and BULLETIN are on *separate lists!* If you are a subscriber to both, you must tell us to change both lists when you move, etc. Thank you.

Address all inquiries or subscriptions to: National Review, Readers' Service, 150 E. 35th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10016

NAME _____
(Please print)

ADDRESS _____
(New address—if moving)

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ PLEASE CHANGE MY BULLETIN ADDRESS ALSO
☐ I wish to subscribe to NATIONAL REVIEW for one year at the regular $12.00 rate. Please enter my ☐ new ☐ renewal subscription: ☐ payment enclosed ☐ bill me later.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEED MORE MONEY? You have it, *right in your pocket,*

if you only know how to use it! 77 ingenious ways to MAKE MONEY from your Credit Cards!

Unknown to 99% of all credit-card holders! All perfectly legitimate (although the credit-card companies will go out of their minds with rage because we've told them to you)! Including —

How to use your credit card, plus your bank account, to earn interest at the rate of 7% — on money you've already spent!

How to use your credit card, and one simple sentence, to get a discount of 7% on your daily purchase — save 7c out of those precious dollars you spend, every day — even if the store you trade at is having a close-out sale!

How to use your credit cards to legally — yes, legally — raise $5,000 . . . $10,000 . . . or more! All on a credit ceiling of $500 — even if every bank in town refused you a loan just the day before!

And This Is Just The Beginning! There Are Dozens More! All YOURS IF YOU TAKE A FEW MINUTES OFF TO LEARN MORE ABOUT YOUR CREDIT CARDS THAN THE BIG COMPANIES EVER DREAMED YOU'D KNOW!

Just think about the beauty of this idea! Right now, your credit cards do nothing but cost you money. In interest. In carrying charges. Right now, therefore, you PAY to use them — and you could pay up to $50 to $100 extra every year!

But you only pay this money because you don't know the right way to use these cards — and because the big companies haven't told it to you. (It's exactly the same set-up as the stock market — the pros make the big money, and they make it from the little man, who doesn't know what's really going on.)

But just think what would happen if you suddenly learned a few hidden facts about the way credit-card companies must work — that, overnight, turn the advantage right back to you!

Like this —

Why Pay Interest On Your Credit-Card Charges At All? Why This One Simple Trick Will Give You The Credit-Card Company's Money For 65 Days ABSOLUTELY FREE!

There are only three simple facts you have to learn — to stop paying a penny for the money the credit-card companies loan you, and start "collecting" money from them instead!

The first concerns the way the credit-card companies must bill you for your purchases — and the time it must take them to bill you before they can start charging you interest for those charges (Learn this simple set of facts, and you have hundreds, or even thousands, of extra dollars every month at your disposal — just as though you were borrowing cash from a bank, and they were forced to forget completely about the interest!

The second hidden fact is even more lucrative. It concerns an almost unknown relationship between your credit cards and your weekly pay check . . . and how you can use credit cards to collect heavy interest for yourself on those wages — even though you go right out and spend every penny of them just the same!

It's as simple as A-B-C to do, once you read page 123 of this book. Then, for less than fifteen delighted minutes work every month, you've automatically got so much more money in your bank account, it's like your boss put up to $1,000 into the bank for you!)

But The Third Hidden Fact Is The Real Pay-Off (No Wonder No One Ever Talked About It Until Today)!

Now comes the most beautiful maneuver of all! A perfectly legitimate and safe way to use combinations of credit cards as your personal bank!

It means — if it's done exactly as shown in Chapter IV — that you now have virtually unlimited credit on your present income — that you can raise thousands of dollars in cash whenever you need it — overnight — with no investigations and no approval necessary!

You have plenty of time to pay the money back . . . you're completely within your right . . . and you'll never have your life crippled again because you couldn't raise a few thousand dollars cash the very instant you needed it!

SPECIAL BONUS SECTION! How Sharpies Take The Credit-Card Companies For Tens of Thousands of Dollars Every Year!

In order to protect yourself, you should know as much as possible about the new "Credit-Card Con Games" that are now going on all over the country! They cost the big companies so much money every year that they could mean higher rates for you!

For example:

How one "smart operator" raised $30,000 in cash from his credit cards . . . and didn't have to pay a single cent of it back!

How another operator got rid of huge personal debts at a discount . . . sidestepped impending salary garnishment completely . . . and emerged free and clear.

How hundreds of others — all over America — are using their cards to obtain merchandise they can never otherwise afford . . . and which never can be taken away from them, even if they don't pay for it!

But You Must Read It Yourself To Believe It! Because There's A Hundred Times More Money-Saving Information In This Book Than We Could Even Hint At Here!

So now the next move is up to you. You can go on paying for your credit cards, or you can turn them into money-making plastic gold-mines for yourself — tomorrow!

AND ANOTHER SPECIAL BONUS SECTION! 55 Murderous Ways Crooks Can Use Your Credit Card To Steal Money From You — EVEN IF IT NEVER LEAVES YOUR POSSESSION!

CREDIT-CARDSMANSHIP not only shows you how to make money with your credit cards . . . it shows how to keep them from back-firing on you.

Because of your credit card, you can be robbed and not even know it . . . seduced onto a treadmill of unmanageable debt . . . victimized by computer errors which can cost you a fortune and ruin your reputation . . . stripped of your privacy by credit investigators who store data, some inaccurate, in computers which make it available to everyone.

CREDIT-CARDSMANSHIP will help you keep your cards safe. It may save you money and heartache by showing

how loopholes in the new Federal credit card law can still leave you liable for unauthorized use of your cards

how to outsmart the computer

how to get ready for the day you lose your cards

how to cut losses due to theft and fraud

how to sidestep retailing credit card swindles and avoid being victim of the service station gyp or the waiters' caper where they can charge you three and four times as much as you actually bought. and you'll never even know it unless you make one simple protective move!

a simple formula to calculate how much you can charge each month without getting into trouble . . . and an infallible method for beating unmanageable debt forever.

The stakes are big! Hidden credit charges — plus the interest you know you're paying on the cards can run into $100 to $200 a year. Almost all of this can be wiped out with techniques shown to you in this book . . . and an extra $100 . . . $200 . . . even $500 a year profit put into your pocket to boot!

All it takes is a single weekend — a few hours — of fascinating reading. The money-saving, money-making information is waiting for you, entirely at our risk, in this book! Why not rush the enclosed No-Risk Coupon for it . . . TODAY!

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Martin J. Meyer is co-author of DON'T BANK ON IT! How to Make Up to 13½% or More on Your Savings — All Fully Insured.

President of National Depositors Co-operative Association, he is one of the nation's foremost experts on recent advances in consumer money management.

His special expertise lies in the areas of making and saving money for consumers when they bank, when they buy — and now, when they use their credit cards. In addition to writing books, Mr. Meyer is engaged as a financial consultant.

JAY NORRIS CORP.

25 W. Merrick Rd., Dept. WW-42, Freeport, N.Y. 11520

— MAIL "NO RISK" COUPON NOW— MONEY BACK IF NOT THRILLED

JAY NORRIS CORP., Dept. WW-42
25 W. Merrick Rd., Freeport, N.Y. 11520

Gentlemen: Please rush me a _____ copy(ies) of CREDIT-CARDSMANSHIP by Martin J. Meyer. I understand the book is mine for only $8.98 complete. In addition, I understand that I may examine this book for a full 30 days entirely at your risk. If at the end of that time, I am not satisfied, I will simply return the book to you for every cent of my money back.

Enclosed is ☐ check or ☐ money order for $_____ (N.Y. residents add sales tax.)

*Name*_____
(please print)

*Address*_____

*City*_____ *State*_____ *Zip*_____

©Jay Norris Corp., 1972

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified Advertisements

Employment Opportunities

JOBS! OVERSEAS-U.S.A. Year-round and summer jobs. Jobs with money, challenge, opportunity, travel. All occupations and trades. Complete info—$1.00. JOBSCOPE, Box 746, (NRX), Woodbridge, Calif. 95258.

WORLDWIDE POSITIONS AVAILABLE. Enjoy high pay, travel allowance, overtime, excitement. Send age, occupation. Write: Global Employment, Box 706-JC102, Orinda, Calif. 94563.

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Box 889-A, Belmont, Calif. 94002.

HOW TO MAKE MONEY writing short paragraphs. I tell you what to write, where and how to sell, and supply lists of editors buying from beginners. Small checks can add up to worthwhile extra income. Write to sell right away. Send for free facts, Barrett, Dept. C-457-M, 6216 N. Clark, Chicago, Ill. 60660.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY $200. New York City publisher of travel publications needs capable, conscientious, conservative person. Excellent secretarial skills required. Diversified, interesting work. Midtown 5th Avenue location. (212) 752-3233.

SECRETARY / GIRL FRIDAY / APPRENTICE. Opportunity for international travel. Job is a paid education, but expect to work very hard. Write me a letter about yourself. Paul Gillette, 305 East 24 St., N.Y.C. 10010.

HOW TO GET OVERSEAS JOBS—Europe—Asia — Australia — South America — worldwide—253 pages—also lists hiring organizations. $2.98 refundable—Staydrynr, Whitestone, N.Y.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU!!! Thousands of jobs! Paid transportation. Latest, most complete opportunities information—only $1.00. Current wages, prices, taxes. Employment directories. Housing, education, farming. SERENA, Box 2186-N92M, Oxnard, Calif. 93030.

Services

BAR MAR VANS—"Movingologists" Personal supervision in moving. Reasonable rates NYC (212) WA 9-2196.

YOUR BEST MOVE is to call PRO MOVERS for moving, packing, storage NYC (212) 924-6188.

Situations Wanted

CONCERT PIANIST wants aggressive agent to represent him. Contact Director of Music, First Presbyterian Church, P.O. Box 109, Beacon, N.Y. 12508.

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. Rates per insertion: 50¢ per word, minimum 10 words, plus $1.50 for box number. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 25 days before publication date. Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address: Classified Department, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016.

CONSERVATIVE LAW STUDENT. 33 years old, graduating NYU Law School spring, 1973 seeks employment with conservative law firm or company. Write NR Box 1561.

Real Estate

GOVERNMENT LANDS—Low as $3.50 an acre. Vacationing, homesteading, investment. Exclusive "Govt Land Buyer's Guide" . . . plus "Land Opportunity Review" listing lands available throughout U.S., send $1.00. Surplus Lands, Box 19107-SP, Washington, D.C. 20036.

IDEAL 5-ACRE RANCH. Lake Conchas, New Mexico. $2,975. No Down. No Interest. $25/mo. Vacation Paradise. Money Maker. Free Brochure. Ranchos: Box 2003N, Alameda, Calif. 94501.

FREE CATALOG! PHOTOS! Coast to coast farms, business, retirement. All types, sizes and prices. SAFE-BUY Real Estate, Box 589-NR, Little Rock, Ark. 72203.

ESTATE SALE: Dutch colonial house on lovely hillside reached by winding drive with 49 acres. Charming interior, very European in feeling. Huge double story living room with fireplace, study, large dining room, 5 bedrooms, 3 baths, guest apartment over garage. Many unusual features for those seeking something out of the ordinary. Executors asking $150,000. For appointment to see please write or call MARCIA L. BURNHAM, Kent, Conn. 203-927-3117.

LAKE PLACID, NEW YORK. All season/second home with 200 ft. lake frontage. 6 rooms, 4 baths. 2-car garage, boathouse. Magnificent view. Write NR Box 1559.

Literary

OUT OF PRINT BOOKS: Found, quoted; all subjects. Large Stock; Lists mailed. REGENT HOUSE, 108 N. Roselake, Los Angeles, Calif. 90026.

LYRIC POETRY for literary anthology. Inquiries: Sterling Press, 24 North Wabash, Chicago 60602.

Personal

MID-WEST BUSINESSMAN, 35, is looking for sincere relationship with attractive, intelligent young lady. Can travel or entertain. If you are looking for an honest friendship with marriage a possibility, let me hear from you. Write NR Box 1557.

AMERICAN IN BERLIN. Unmarried conservative woman seeks contacts, letters or visits with people of similar interests 35 to 50 age-range; Buckley politics; Biblical Christian; faith in the Christ of inerrant Scriptures; prefers New Testament-Campbellite position; likes history, archaeology, scientific-creationism, enjoys films, drama, literature, opera, concerts—especially Bach. Finds tennis, bowling, bike-ridng, golf, walking, etc., relaxing and healthy. Open to new personalities and refreshing experiences. Traveling, dining (organic when possible . . . smile!), long conversations favorite pastimes. Write NR Box 1560.

WILL ANYONE ASSIST recently discharged Army veteran, college graduate, congenial fellow, who seeks modestly comfortable apartment in residence of N.Y.C. family? Call Guy (212) 620-6643.

SUCCESSFUL ENGINEER - BUSINESSMAN with very broad interests-talents looking forward to early retirement and writing philosophy-psychology from conservative view. Interests include classical music, dancing, art, nature & outdoors. Emotionally open, capable of loving, could form meaningful relationship with view toward marriage with right girl—one intelligent, evolving spiritually, emotionally mature with sense of self worth. Unencumbered, 40, 6', 180#, youthful, healthy and rather good looking. So. Calif. area. Write NR Box 1558.

Miscellaneous

HOW INTELLIGENT ARE YOU? I.Q. Test will tell you! Self Scoring Test—$1. SHRICO, P. O. Box N-7683, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15214.

TRADITIONAL CATHOLIC COLLEGE. Thomas Aquinas College offers classical liberal education, orthodox Catholic theology and a Christian community of learning. The new college is characterized by serious intellectual discipline, close personal relationships and hard work. Classics from Aristotle to Einstein replace textbooks; seminars replace lectures; a required four year curriculum replaces the elective system. The college is co-educational. For information write to: THOMAS AQUINAS COLLEGE, 26812 W. Mulholland Hwy., Calabasas, Calif. 91302.

BURTON HARPSICHORDS, professional instruments in kit form. $195-650. Burton Jacks (patented). Write Herbert Burton, 917 "O" St., P.O. Box 80222 NR, Lincoln, Neb. 68501.

MEET YOUR IDEAL MATE (Computerized Matching)—All Ages "Let TEAM Make You a Team." Write: TEAM Project, 1270 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10001.

ANY RECORD, ANY TAPE at lowest discount prices. Enroll in Saturnian Record Club. $1.00 lifetime membership fee brings you a free Schwann catalog and forms for immediate ordering of any record at unmatchably low prices. No minimum, no limit. Write Saturnian Record Club, Box NR, 507 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C. 10017.

BONSAI (DWARF) TREES. America's oldest growers of aged Bonsai. Free catalog. HEIROB BONSAI NURSERY, Livingston Manor, N.Y. 12758.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH. Send sample and $10 to Elisabeth King, 41 East 29th St., New York, N.Y. 10016.

OUTSTANDING IMPRINTED PERSONAL stationery. Social-professional. Idea-packed sampler-catalog 25¢. Jacques Stationery, Box 395-R, Wallingford, Vt. 05773.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

Wall Street Journal:

"Welfare Strife"

We've never thought that much of the welfare problem consisted of . . . people collecting welfare while working. It's the collecting welfare while not working that worries us. . . . In many cases it would be to the long-run benefit of their families if they worked even at low-wage jobs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAWAIIAN FLOWERS AIRMAILED FROM HAWAII—Exotic, Unique! Tropical fantasy (Anthuriums, Bird of Paradise, Flame Ginger), $14, prepaid. Tropical Extravaganza (more of everything!), $18. Dozen Anthuriums, $9, $12. Orchid Bouquets, $16.95. Also tree ferns, exotic plants, stunning party florals. ISLAND FLOWERS, Box 4841. Chicago, Ill. 60680.

VITAMIN E (natural) 400 units, 100 capsules $7.95. GET SECOND BOTTLE FREE! Send check or write for 2-for-1 catalog. Natural Organics, Dept. NR 10739 Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90064.

THE CONNOISSEUR'S BREED. Brussels Griffons. Bewhiskered, comical, intelligent toy dogs. AKC. Ch.-sired puppies. S. Tetzlaff, 7162 Kermore Lane, Stanton, Calif. 90680.

COMMODITIES—We specialize in professional management of commodity futures trading accounts on an individual basis seeking maximum growth on speculative risk capital by using trading methods optimized through computer research. Free brochure NR. Write C.M.I. Corporation, One Investment Place, Baltimore, Md. 21204.

WALLPAPERS—VINYLS—FLOCKS. Top discounts—all brands ship anywhere—send pattern numbers—lowest quotes—Shriber's—Dept. N 3222 Brighton Rd.—Pittsburgh, Pa. 15212.

LOSING HAIR? Swiss electro-vibratory scalp massager promotes hair growth. $5.95 postpaid. R. S. Associates, Import-Export, Box 113, Twinsburg, Ohio 44087.

GETTING STARTED IN STAINED GLASS. 30¢. Whittemore, Box 2065CG, Hanover, Mass. 02339.

KASHMIR-KOLAHOI Trek—Tiger Hunt/Viewing Only; Ex-Maharaja's Guests—April 21—$2,850. Capers 400 Club, 960 Larrabee, Los Angeles, Calif. 90069.

HOW INTELLIGENT ARE YOU? I.Q. test will tell you! Self-scoring test only $2—guaranteed! Newpro, Dept. IJ910, 41430 Erma Avenue, Fremont, Calif. 94538.

WANTED—MISSALE ROMANUM, daily and Sunday Missals, Altar Cards, Liturgical Books, Vestments, etc. Must be prior to 1950. Write NR Box 1556.

ARCHAEOLOGY NEWSLETTER. Fascinating! Ask for illustrated circular, or send $3.50 for year's subscription. Otto Reiss Publishing, 243 East 39 Street, N.Y.C. 10016.

SPIRO AGNEW's famous Des Moines speech (30 minutes). Available in color or b/w videotape in any nonbroadcast format, $65. VTR Programs, Box 1273 University Station, Ames, Iowa 50010.

ASTROLOGER Charles Cooke, A.B., Th.M., Lecturer FDU, Zodiactronics author, 310 Bleecker St., N.Y.C. 10014, mail or phone 212-929-8568.

WRITERS:

Publish Your Book!

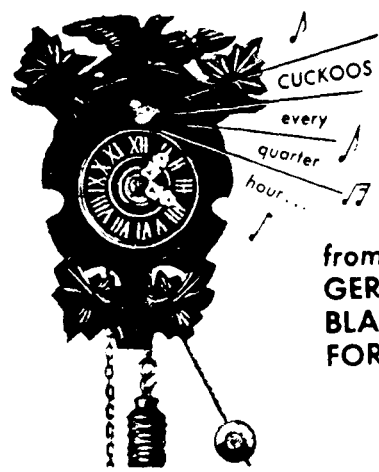
Full trade publishing services—editing, design, printing, binding, advertising, publicity, distribution—under one roof means lower prices, faster publication. Profitable publication on a sale of 750 copies is possible NOW. FREE brochures give you all details and prices. Write to Dept. 61, Exposition Press, Inc., Jericho, N.Y. 11753.

CUCKOO CLOCK

Now only $8.95

postpaid . . . duty-free

Shipped Direct To You from EUROPE



from GERMAN BLACK FOREST

This low price possible only through our unique direct import plan. Genuine German CUCKOO CLOCK with weight and pendulum movement. Excellent timekeeper. Cuckoos cheerily every quarter hour in clear pleasing voice. HAND CARVED in traditional design by the famous Black Forest wood carvers. Antique walnut finish. Perfect for den, bedroom, alcove, child's room or kitchen. Shipped direct from Free Europe in export packing with strange foreign stamps. Order as gifts, too, each shipped direct. (Not more than one addressed to the same person.) Send only $8.95 for each. No C.O.D.'s. Postman collects 15¢ foreign packet charge which can't be prepaid. Satisfaction-or-money back guarantee.

MAIL ORDER MART.—Dept. 22
2701 Sterlington Rd., Suite 237
Monroe, Louisiana 71201

Please send me the cuckoo clock. If I am not completely satisfied, I will return it within 10 days for a full refund.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Attica, a Year Later

On The Right

Attica, August 28—I do not doubt that passions rage, and bitterness festers, that there is inexhaustible loneliness and despair among the prisoners in Attica as they approach the first anniversary of the uprising that scarred September of last year. But it is not palpable. There is a new administration at Attica, half the inmates have been sent elsewhere (necessarily: two block areas were all but destroyed), and some of the known troublemakers are segregated. It has the appearance of a relaxed community—a spent community is perhaps a better way to put it, a year after four ritual executions (of one guard and three inmates, by other inmates), and the killing of eleven guards and 32 prisoners by the state troopers dispatched to return control of the prison to the authorities.

BUT ATTICA is strangely different from what one's imagination anticipated. To begin with it is not an old, but relatively new prison, built during the Twenties. The inmates are not herded together four or more to a cell—the cells are individual. The visiting room (this is a post-riot innovation) is unscreened, so that prisoners can talk face-to-face with their visitors (to be sure submitting, after the visitors have left, to a thorough physical search). The refectory is clean and airy, the chapel (where a Black Muslim service was going on Thursday at noon) readily accessible, the guards and administrative personnel for the most, apparently relaxed. It requires treading the quarters destroyed by wanton fire, and staring into the E compound, just this side of the handball court, where the hostages were kept, blindfolded much of the time; or passing one's eyes over the evanescing scars of a trench into which (it had been rumored) the prisoners intended to douse gasoline-soaked hostages if they did not get their demands, to recognize that one is strolling by what only a year ago was holocaust.

The bitterness is most keen, one gathers, among the residents of the little town of Attica. Everyone there either suffered a death in his own family, or knew well a family that suffered death. What they cannot understand is what is going on with the so-called Fischer investigation, New York State's prosecutorial inquiry which, it was widely expected, would have led months ago to indictments lodged against the principal malefactors. No one doubts that a guard and three inmates were murdered. Who did it? And what about the kidnapers, who threatened death to the hostages; whose intransigence was directly responsible for 47 deaths?

Who are they? Everyone grants the difficulty in getting prisoners to talk. But there were highly conspicuous leaders of the insurrection—where are they? Why have they not been brought to trial? One learns from the patient, experienced new superintendent, Ernest Montayne, that for all he knows some of these men are walking the streets, having served out their sentences.

There is a creeping suspicion among Atticans that somebody in Albany is engaged in granting de facto the amnesty, the refusal of which by Nelson Rockefeller, last September, brought on the bloody showdown.

Everybody is afraid of everything. There is no "solution" to Attican impasses, but one suggested reform—a super-maximum security prison (they call it a "maxi-maxi") somewhere in the state, to which the chronic troublemakers would be sent—was turned down by the legislature, for fear that it would look like a black concentration camp (the superintendent assures me it would not have). Legislatures are always afraid of taking measures which might subsequently appear to have been racist in motivation. If (let us imagine) a new law were enacted stiffening penalties against extortionists, and under the law one hundred American Italians were picked up the following week, there would be a howl against the "anti-Italian law." This is nonsense of course: but much of democratic politics yields to nonsense.

The actual running of a prison threatens, under recent court decisions, to become something of a judicial rather than an administrative matter, so that internal discipline is not sure-footed and the authorities cannot dispatch for any length of time even to the local maxi-maxi chronic offenders without having to satisfy the lawyers.

The anniversary is on September 13. No doubt it will catalyze dormant emotions. The long silence of the Fischer Commission may well prove counterproductive, stimulating bitterness in the non-prison population, and prolonging the suspense among the prisoners. Always always one is reminded how necessary it is that justice be summary. □

THE SKYJACKER PROBLEM

New York, Sept. 12—The Soviet Union—get this—doesn't want to sign the proposed arrangement to curb skyjacking because it hasn't come in through the machinery of the United Nations, and the Soviet Union believes that it would set a dangerous precedent for countries or groups of countries to come together to impose sanctions under ad hoc circumstances. So, wearily, the seventeen-nation group convened to discuss means of dealing with skyjacking plods along and, meanwhile, nothing happens. That was the complaint of the pilots who, last June 19, stopped flying for 24 hours, to the consternation of the entire world.

If it had been only the Soviet Union, we'd all have been entitled to feel simply:—there we go again. The Soviet Union, through the exercise of the veto power, has made the Security Council an all but totally useless instrument. It has made lawlessness into high art, and objects to skyjackers for the single reason that occasionally a skyjacker picks on a Soviet airship to spirit away. Concerning the loss of property, the Russian Communists are altogether bourgeois.

BUT THERE were objections, though they were not voiced so strongly, also from Great Britain and from France and from Egypt. They too made the legal argument—that it would be cumbersome to set up an entirely new international organization to mete out sanctions against countries that failed to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

punish or extradite hijackers. But they confessed, privately, that their objection to a redundant new organization was not the cause of everything that bugged them. Mostly they were worried about specific problems. Great Britain, with its considerable ties to the Middle East, is afraid that she will work herself into a position of having to embargo air service to the countries in that part of the world. That would not only greatly inconvenience British businessmen, it would throw a lot of air business into the hands of other airlines that refused to go along. France has the special problem of Algeria. Algeria is the favorite destination of skyjackers, Cuba having roughed up a few in recent months. And France fears that to offend Algeria by refusing to fly into Algeria could have an undesirable diplomatic result. Egypt, of course, fears the necessity of having to boycott a brother country engaged in ideological piracy—so, the proposed covenant is dead. Concerning its death, a few observations:

1. If the conferences does not come up with a satisfactory alternative, the time has come for the United States to take an initiative. Not the government of the United States, which is inhibited by modi operandi of a kind that resulted in the undoing of the proposed treaty. But the pilots. Here, surely, is a case where private organizations can achieve internationally desired results. The air pilots association is clearly justified in take the initiative in protecting the lives of air pilots and of their passengers. And, under the circumstances, in refusing to fly into any country that a) harbored skyjackers; or b) itself flies into any country that harbors skyjackers.

2. Applying that formula to, say, France, would the effect be to turn over the lucrative New York-Paris run to French airways? Not on your tin-type. For such a boycott, involving as it does not greed or jurisdictional jingoism, but a genuine concern for physical safety, union solidarity is defensibly invoked and lo and behold, Air France arrives all right, but there is no one around to refuel its planes, or restoke its larder with red wine. . . . The end result—depriving world air traffic of the New York linchpin—should be quite obvious.

The only other thought 3), that comes to mind centers around that charming little country, the Central African Republic, whose president a few weeks ago encouraged his policemen to put an end to thievery by entering the prisons on Saturday night and beating the prisoners to death. The plot would be secretly to instruct all the pilots of the world concerning the exact whereabouts of the Central African Republic, and when the skyjackers whip out their pistols, the pilots can submissively redirect their aircraft—towards central Africa. And, as they circle for a landing, we could arrange to have the aerodrome painted in huge letters: "WELCOME TO ALGIERS!" □

A CRITICAL HOUR IN THE SENATE

New York, Sept. 22—When on accepting the renomination of his party at Miami Beach a few weeks ago Richard Nixon said that he would never negotiate an arms limitation agreement from a position of inferiority, he ran a terrible risk. The risk was that someone would read out to him from the transcript of the various press conferences in Moscow in which Henry Kissinger gave out the details of the SALT Treaty. I counted *seven* times that Mr. Kissinger defended lapidary relegation of the United States to inferiority on the grounds that after all we were talking not about an ideal situation but about the current situation. Mr. Kissinger's point was that the Soviet Union has been going hell-bent for strategic armament for three years while we have been coasting, and that we are better off more or less freezing the situation than waking up a year or two from now to find the Soviet lead drastically lengthened. In other words, we negotiated from inferiority.

THE SCANDAL of creeping American arms inferiority is easily the best kept secret in the world, notwithstanding that the facts are widely available and have been remarked by the chiefs of staff and by the *Reader's Digest*, who between them cover just about everybody. Fortunately, the facts are well known to a group of senators who are right this minute engaged in one of the toughest and most important parliamentary maneuvers of the decade. They are fighting for what we call the Jackson-Scott-Allott amendment to the Interim Agreement. Now that amendment does several things. But mostly what it does is to address the President of the United States thusly:

Friend, when you come back to us in a couple of years with SALT II—the treaty that is supposed to incorporate a permanent lessening of the strategic potential of the Soviet Union and the United States—do not present this chamber with a document that grants the Soviet Union superiority. As things now stand under SALT I, the Soviet Union has a 50 per cent advantage in launching sites and a 400 per cent advantage in payload, once they are done MIRVing. Meanwhile, between now and the time you come back to us with the treaty, we in the Senate will from time to time question the executive on what strides are being made to narrow the gap between the Soviet Union and the United States, within the terms of the current agreement. What kind of research are you doing, for instance. And when we say equality with the Soviet Union, we mean equality of the kind spelled out for instance in the ABM Treaty, not the fancy-talk equality by which such as Senator Fulbright transmogrify a 4 to 1 disadvantage into equality, on the nice metaphysical principle that every Russian can only die once.

THE DOVES, sensing a great danger to their vision of a disarmed America, are horrified to note that Senator Jackson's got himself 44 cosponsors for his amendment. With 44 cosponsors, one can assume a great many others will vote with the 44 easily enough for a swollen majority. What will be left over is a highly visible minority who actually are voting against American equality in strategic arms, not the most attractive record to offer their constituents in an election year.

The doves then fought back with a Mansfield amendment about playing fair under the rules of SALT I, but the Jackson people completely outwitted them by going for it 100 per cent (the vote was 85 to 1) on the grounds that the language of the proferred amendment was totally harmonious with that of the Jackson amendment—thus stripping it of any real meaning. The doves talk now about throwing out the Jackson amendment at a conference with the House of Representatives (which did not come through with a complementary measure), but the Senate strategists don't particularly care. SALT II is projected as a treaty, and is subject therefore to ratification by the Senate. By two-thirds of the Senate.

Richard Nixon is actually encouraging the Senate realists. He desires them to tie down his hands, and why should he not? Richard Nixon is not the only American who knows what the Russians have been secretly up to in recent weeks and months in the field of arms research and development. Hubert Humphrey also knows about it. It is only the American people who don't know about it but, inevitably, will know about it soon. They can reasonably demand to know how their senators voted on the Jackson amendment at that critical hour. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. To make unfit for use by introduction of unwholesome or undesirable elements — 76 31 114 205 85 88 71 99 101 126 / 79

B. A certain type of film floating on water — 90 105 178 188 206 110 158 150

C. Yelled louder than someone else — 113 29 33 60 36 42 68 84 128 170

D. A character who creates jobs for many people — 132 117 181 193 54 19 154 183 124

E. Surroundings — 155 49 130 133 167 191 200 17 35 97 / 164

F. An alkaloid with sympathomimetic and hypotensive effects — 163 28 165 120 184 143 138 192 65

G. Unscramble SIP DECEIT — 116 190 21 56 172 111 176 182 195

H. *Units that were named for a German physicist* — 168 4 38 30

I. What garbage is often used for — 23 48 55 12 32 59 106 127

J. One of London's metropolitan boroughs — 177 39 199 145 7 2 129 122

K. A city north of Tokyo — 6 93 159 208 187

L. The office held by a Scottish feudal lord — 189 66 169 160 8 16 77 123 147

M. A town west of Bucharest — 196 22 152 3 69 134 80

N. Manner in which Tom Swift spoke after pating a lion — 198 102 201 9 151 209 173

O. The language used in present-day Israel — 72 52 73 78 87 82 91 96 43

P. It's here to stay—but not all its users — 207 83 27 37 104 203 162 15 144 156

Q. What the earth's axis points toward — 44 10 197 135 40 81 1 103 202

R. What restaurant coffee often tastes like — 153 24 171 109 175 148 86 41 137

S. A kind of effervescent drink — 141 112 61 161 89 125 140 46 57

T. To pass through or undergo again — 149 70 25 94 118 11 136

U. Frequnetly — 180 62 95 13 119

V. A generating station — 185 5 108 131 157 34 18 142 45 166

W. A very important planet — 20 92 14 100 47

X. Coarse rattling noises in the bronchial tubes — 53 64 67 139 121 74 26

Y. Menace — 63 194 58 174 98 50

Z. A city in China on the Yellow River — 107 75 179 146 51 186 115 204

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 1080 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

			1 Q	2 J	3 M		4 H	5 V	6 K	7 J	8 L	9 N	10 Q	11 T	12 I	13 U	14 W			
15 P	16 L		17 E	18 V	19 D	20 W		21 G	22 M	23 I	24 R	25 T	26 X	27 P	28 F	29 C	30 H			
31 A	32 I		33 C	34 V	35 E		36 C	37 P	38 H	39 J		40 Q	41 R		42 C	43 O	44 Q	45 V		
	46 S	47 W	48 I	49 E		50 Y	51 Z	52 O		53 X	54 D	55 I	56 G	57 S	58 Y		59 I	60 C		
	61 S	62 U		63 Y	64 X	65 F		66 L	67 X	68 C	69 M	70 T		71 A	72 O		73 O	74 X		
75 Z	76 A	77 L		78 O	79 A		80 M	81 Q		82 O	83 P	84 C		85 A		86 R	87 O	88 A		
89 S	90 B	91 O	92 W	93 K	94 T		95 U	96 O	97 E	98 Y	99 A	100W		101A		102N	103Q	104P		
105B	106I	107Z		108V	109R	110B	111G	112S		113C	114A		115Z		116G	117D	118T	119U		
120F	121X		122J	123L	124D	125S	126A		127I	128C	129J	130E	131V		132D	133E	134M	135Q		
136T	137R		138F	139X		140S		141S	142V	143F	144P	145J	146Z		147L	148R	149T	150B		
	151N	152M	153R		154D	155E	156P	157V		158B	159K	160L	161S		162P	163F		164E		
165F	166V		167E	168H	169L	170C	171R	172G	173N	174Y		175R	176G	177J	178B		179Z	180U		
181D		182G	183D	184F	185V		186Z	187K	188B	189L	190G		191E	192F		193D	194Y	195G		
196M	197Q		198N	199J	200E		201N	202Q	203P	204Z	205A		206B	207P	208K	209N				

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Audition important new recordings months before they are available to the general public.

Begin today—Send for special Advance Edition of **Beethoven's MISSA SOLEMNIS** superbly conducted by EUGEN JOCHUM

Yours for Half Price if you decide to keep it!

MISSA SOLEMNIS, called by Beethoven himself "the most successful of his intellectual products," has just been given its definitive modern recording, conducted by the illustrious Eugen Jochum. This Philips album will not be available to the American public for some months, but you may preview it now for ten days, without charge and without obligation. Furthermore, should you decide to keep it, you may do so for only *half* the suggested list price at which it will eventually be sold in stores!

Try it for ten days FREE

No obligation to keep it.

The Carnegie Hall Selection Committee's fascinating report which accompanies the album points out why this performance was singled out for the Committee's recommendation: Jochum's devout, meticulously prepared interpretation . . . the self-effacing artistry of famous vocal soloists Agnes Giebel, Marga Höffgen, Ernst Haefliger and Karl Ridderbusch . . . inspired music-making by the peerless Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam and Netherlands Radio Chorus. Plus the truest, warmest sound of any *Missa Solemnis* yet recorded. The two stereo discs themselves are superior, silent-surfaced European pressings, manufactured by Philips to highest quality control standards, and come with full text, notes and *exclusive* Committee report.

Our preview offer of the *Missa Solemnis* cannot be repeated! So please mail the attached postpaid card today. Listen for ten days. Then either return the album and pay nothing, or keep it for only $6.98 plus small postage/handling charge (and sales tax where required). This is a *50% saving* off the suggested retail price when the regular edition is finally released.

How you can be first to enjoy the greatest new recordings!

By replying now, you assure yourself of the privilege of receiving, for future ten-day free previews, special *advance editions* of major new albums . . . chosen *exclusively* for the International Preview Society by the Carnegie Hall Selection Committee. Since the Society is *not* a record "club", you will never be required to buy any album, nor will you receive a "record-of-the-month" like clockwork. Only when the Committee discovers a new album of the most extraordinary musical interest, artistic excellence and technical quality will it be sent for your free audition, so that there will often be *months when no album at all is offered* by the International Preview Society.

In every case, you will preview these records *long before* they reach the stores . . . with the option of purchasing any album you wish, in a *superb imported pressing*, including exclusive Committee report . . . never at a higher price than the ordinary edition will retail for months later, and frequently at *big savings*! You may cancel this arrangement at any time.

If you truly love great music, please mail the card today for your exciting *Missa Solemnis* pre-release audition.

"This is an admirable choice for a limited edition album. A major performance of such a masterwork belongs in the library of every devotee of serious music."

Julius Bloom
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR/CARNEGIE HALL

---Mail This Coupon if Postpaid Card is Missing---

FREE AUDITION AND HALF-PRICE PRIVILEGE NR-1

THE INTERNATIONAL PREVIEW SOCIETY
333 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60601

Please send, for my free preview, the two-record special advance edition of *Missa Solemnis* by Eugen Jochum. I may return it after ten days and owe nothing, or keep it and pay only $6.98 plus small postage/handling charge (sales tax extra, where required). This is *50% off* the suggested list price of the regular edition, when it becomes available months from now. I will also receive, at intervals of one or more months, free ten-day previews of albums chosen by the Carnegie Hall Selection Committee, far in advance of general release. I may keep any album for no more, and often for far less, than suggested list price. *I am not obligated to buy any minimum number of albums and I may cancel this arrangement at any time.*

NAME _____
(please print)

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MILSTAR Corporate Squares at The Chatterbox Restaurant in Jefferson Square office building and shopping center complex, Columbia, S.C.

Milliken revolutionizes restaurant carpeting with loose-laid Corporate Squares

MILSTAR is the totally new concept in commercial carpeting developed by Milliken Research. Now in 18" carpet tiles it supplies a combination of innovations never before available for restaurants:

Longer Wear. Pile is fuse-bonded into vinyl plastisol, providing resilience and wear equal to or better than the finest tufted and woven constructions. Tuft lock is superior to any other cut pile construction.

Less Maintenance. Impermeable soil barrier back traps dirt on surface, contains spills in pile, makes cleaning easier.

Quick-Change Efficiency. MILSTAR Corporate Squares are dense-pile, snug-fitting, loose-laid tiles that need no adhesive. When spillage occurs soiled tiles can be replaced immediately by clean tiles on reserve. Results: Spilled food isn't tracked over carpet; maintenance cost is reduced; floor stays clean and attractive. Soiled tiles, easily cleaned, return to reserve.

This quick-change artistry is practiced successfully at The Jefferson Square Chatterbox Restaurant, shown above. Additional benefits: The carpet is anti-static, fade-resistant, with pile of 70% solution-dyed Acrilan® acrylic fiber and 30% super lightfast nylon. In numerous solid and coordinated tweed colors, MILSTAR Corporate Squares offer limitless possibilities for dramatically patterned floors. For details, call or write Deering Milliken, Inc., Contract Carpet Manager, LaGrange, Georgia 30240. (404) 883-5511.

PLUS

MILLIKEN

Floor Covering Business, LaGrange, Ga.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED